DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 026 706 24 EA 001 689

By-Smith, Ralph V.; And Others
Community Support for the Public Schools in a Large Metropolitan Area. Final Report.
Eastern Michigan Univ., Ypsilanti.
Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
Report No-CRP-2557
Bureau No-BR-5-1054
Pub Date May 68
Contract-OEC-SAE-5-1-111
Note-255p.
EDRS Price MF-$1.00 HC-$12.85
Descriptors-Community Attitudes, Community Characteristics, *Community Support, *Ecological Factors, Expenditure Per Student, Federal Aid, *Metropolitan Areas, Negro Attitudes, Questionnaires, Racial Distribution, Racial Integration, Racial Segregation, Residential Patterns, *School Community Relationship, School Support, Social Characteristics, Tax Support, *Urban Schools
Identifiers-Detroit

An extensive survey was conducted in 1965 by a team of white and Negro interviewers in an application of ecological theory to a study of the support relationship between the community and its school system. Findings are based upon interview data from a probability sample of 931 respondents selected from the population of persons 21 years of age and older living within the Detroit standard metropolitan statistical area. The study was conducted in all 94 school districts in the Detroit SMSA, including the Detroit district within the city proper and the 93 districts in the suburban areas adjacent to the city. The area's population is defined ecologically in relation to six concentric zones, based on a pattern of progressive deconcentration ranging from "inner city" to "outer suburban," with Negroes concentrated in the inner zones and whites concentrated in the suburban zones. Variables correlated with school support include zonal distribution by race, educational background, annual family income, length of residence, number of school-age children, and membership in voluntary associations. Analysis of data confirms the study's basic hypothesis that support for public schools varies in relationship to the distribution of social characteristics over urban space. (JK)

ED026706

BR-5-1054
PA-24

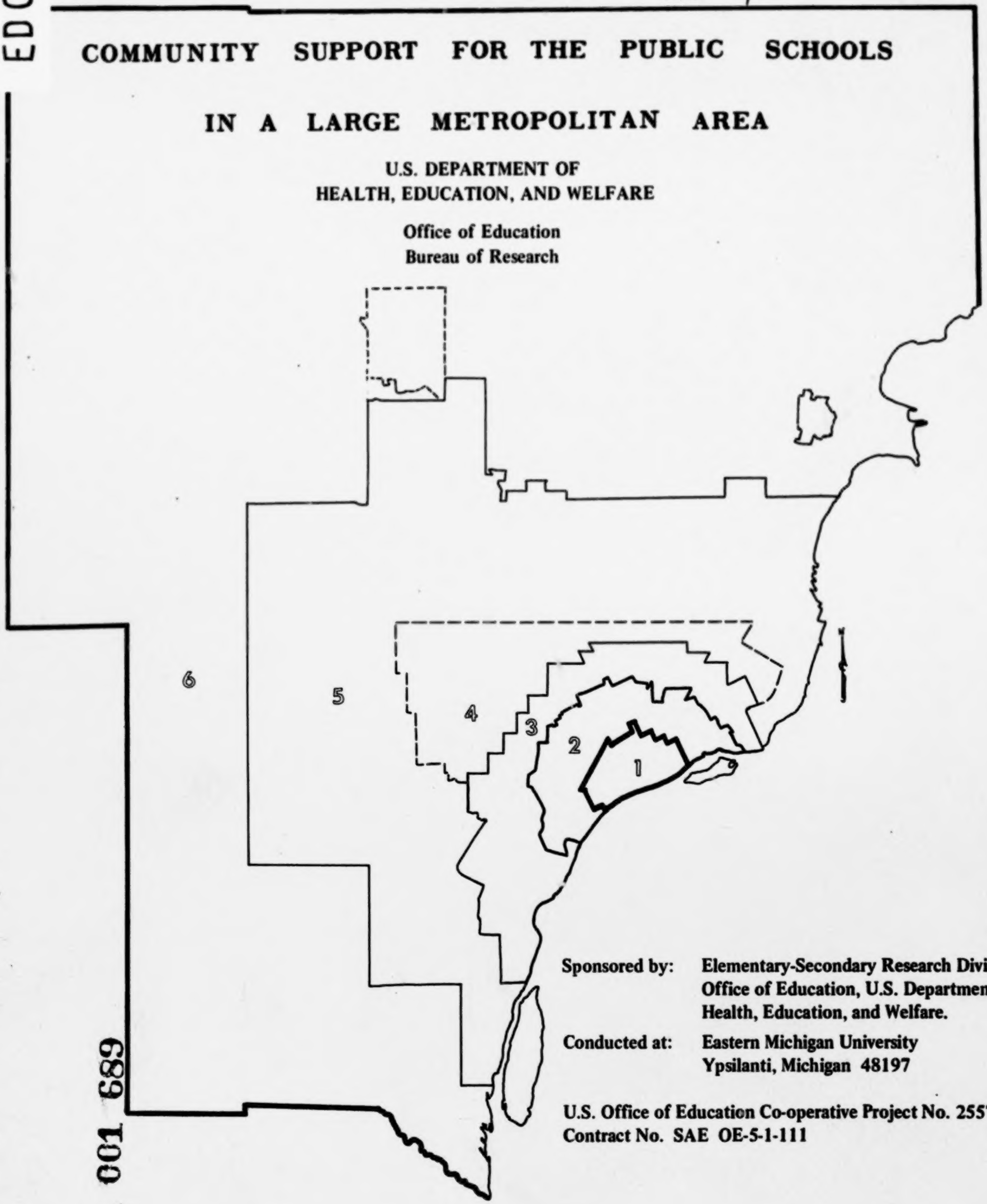
FINAL REPORT
May 1968

PA 24

COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN A LARGE METROPOLITAN AREA

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research



Sponsored by: Elementary-Secondary Research Division
Office of Education, U.S. Department of
Health, Education, and Welfare.

Conducted at: Eastern Michigan University
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197

U.S. Office of Education Co-operative Project No. 2557
Contract No. SAE OE-5-1-111

EA 001 689

(2)

EF
DATE
CERS
EDC
UFRC
OTHER
R B J C S M

COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN A LARGE METROPOLITAN AREA

Project No. 2557
Contract No. SAE OE-5-1-111

Ralph V. Smith
Professor of Sociology
Director, Institute for Community and Educational Research
Eastern Michigan University *

Stanley E. Flory
Assistant Professor, Sociology
Eastern Michigan University **

Rashid L. Bashshur
School of Public Health

and

Gary W. Shannon
Department of Geography
University of Michigan

May, 1968

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgement in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

*Ralph V. Smith currently is with
the Institute for Metropolitan Studies
University of Cincinnati

**Stanley E. Flory currently is with
the School of Public Health,
University of Michigan

Eastern Michigan University
Ypsilanti, Michigan

© Copyright, 1968

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY Ray B. Loeschner

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

Acknowledgements

The research reported in this monograph was conducted at Eastern Michigan University through support provided by the Division of Elementary-Secondary Research, Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Professors Smith and Flory were affiliated with the Department of Sociology of Eastern Michigan University during the progress of this project. Dr. Bashshur, who served as a consultant, is a Research Associate in the University of Michigan's School of Public Health. Mr. Gary Shannon, the project geographer, is now affiliated with the School of Public Health of the University of Michigan.

The authors would like to express their deep appreciation to the staff members who worked so diligently to produce this report: Mrs. Mary Alice Beauton, Rick Beauton, Wanda Koch, Mr. Pat Easto, Mrs. Marjorie Easto, Sharon Graham, Anthony Smith, Mrs. Nancy Batzer, and Miss Joyce Scott.

Dr. Samuel Brownell who was Superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools at the start of the study offered encouragement and advice of a significant nature. Upon Dr. Brownell's retirement, his successor, Dr. Norman Drachler, provided aid and insights of benefit to the study.

To Mr. Clare Ebersole, Director of Data Processing of the Detroit Public Schools, much credit is due for assistance rendered in providing important data.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I Introduction 1
Chapter II The Distribution of Social Characteristics, By Zone 29
Chapter III School Support and the Distribution of Social Characteristics............ 57
Chapter IV De Facto Support: The Problem of Educational Equality in the Suburban Area 92
Chapter V Racial Segregation 121
Chapter VI Occupation Aspiration, School Support, and Race 160
Chapter VII Summary and Conclusions 181

LIST OF TABLES

Page

Table 1 Race, By Residence Location 33

Table 2 Amount of Education, By residence Location 33

Table 3 Total Family Income, By Residence Location 34

Table 4 Home Ownership Status, By Residence Location 34

Table 5 Self-Ranking of Total Family Income, By Residence Location 35

Table 6 Respondent Perception of Family Income Adequacy, By Residence Location 35

Table 7 Respondent's Estimate of Amount of Annual Income Increment Needed to Meet Family's Needs, By Residence Zone 36

Table 8 Job Satisfaction, By Residence Location 36

Table 9 Length of Residence in the Detroit Area, By Residence Location 38

Table 10 Place of Previous Residence, By Residence Location 38

Table 11 Intentions of Moving from Present Neighborhood Within the Next Year 39

Table 12 Nature of Residential Moves Anticipated by Detroit Area Residents for the Coming Year, By Residence Location 39

Table 13 Place of Birth, By Residence Location 40

Table 14 Marital Status, By Residence Location 43

Table 15 Families with Children Enrolled in Public Schools, By Residence Location 43

Table 16 Per Cent Distribution of White Adults Whose Annual Family Income Totals $5000 or More, By Residence Location, and by Family Life Cycle Stage 44

Table 17 Visual Limitations, By Residence Location 45

Table 18 Auditory Limitations, By Residence Location 45

LIST OF TABLES
(continued)

Table 19 Families with Health Problems "Other" than those connected with Sight, Hearing, or Locomotion, and Which Impair School Work or Employment, By Residence Location 46

Table 20 Number of Family Members with One or More Physical Disabilities, By Residence Location 46

Table 21 Membership in Voluntary Associations, By Residence Location 50

Table 22 Attendance at Voluntary Association Meetings, By Residence Location 50

Table 23 Relatives Living in Detroit Area, By Residence Location 51

Table 24 Frequency of Contact with Relatives, By Residence Location 51

Table 25 Frequency of Contact with Neighbors, By Distance Zone 52

Table 26 Frequency of Contact with Co-Workers, By Distance Zone 52

Table 27 Frequency of Contact with Friends Who are Not Neighbors or Co-Workers, By Distance Zone 53

Table 28 Recollection of Having Received Literature From the Public Schools During the Past Year, By Residence Location 54

Table 29 Impressions of School Literature, By Residence Location 54

Table 30 Attitudinal Support and Age, By Residential Area 63

Table 31 Attitudinal Support and Sex, By Residential Area 64

Table 32 Attitudinal Support, By Marital Status, and By Residential Area 65

Table 33 Attitudinal Support and Child Enrollment in Public Schools, By Residential Area 66

Table 34 Attitudinal Support, By Child Enrollment in Public and Non-Public Schools in the Detroit SMSA 67

Table 35 Attitudinal Support and Religious Affilitation, By Residential Area 67

Table 36 Attitudinal Support and Home Ownership, By Residential Area 69

LIST OF TABLES
(continued)

Table 37 Attitudinal Support and Self-Ranking of Income, By Residential Area 70

Table 38 Attitudinal Support, By Job Outlook, By Residential Area 71

Table 39 Attitudinal Support and Length of Residence, By Area 73

Table 40 Attitudinal Support Level, By Place of Previous Residence 74

Table 41 Support Level, By Farm Background, By Four Concentric Zones 74

Table 42 Attitudinal Support Levels, By Areas of Residence 75

Table 43 Voting Tendency and Length of Residence in the Detroit Area, By Area of Residence of Respondent 81

Table 44 Voting Tendency and Child Enrollment in the Public Schools, By Area of Residence 82

Table 45 Voting Tendency and Home Ownership, By Area of Residence 83

Table 46 Voting Tendency and Membership in Voluntary Associations, By Area of Residence 84

Table 47 Voting Tendency By Race, And By Area of Residence 85

Table 48 Reported Voting Tendency, By Area of Residence 85

Table 49 Willingness to Support School Millage Proposals and Stated Voting Activity in Last School Election, By Concentric Zone 89

Table 50 Attitudinal Support Levels in High, Medium, and Low De-Facto Support School Districts 98

Table 51 Reported Registration to Vote in High, Medium, and Low De-Facto Support School Districts 100

Table 52 Reported Voting Tendency in High, Medium, and Low De-Facto Support School Districts 100

Table 53 Equal Educational Opportunities 101

Table 54 Federal Financial Aid to Education 102

Table 55a-e Perceptions of Whether More, The Same, or Less Amounts of Tax Monies Should be Spent on Various Services, by Residence Location 106-110

LIST OF TABLES
(continued)

Table 56 Respondent Comparison of Local Property Taxes with Rates in other Communities, By Residence Location 111

Table 57 Impressions of Value Received for Tax Dollars Spent, By Residence Location 111

Table 58 Attitudes Toward City Income Tax, By Residence Location 112

Table 59 Preferences for a Flat, as against a Graduated Type of Income Tax, By Residence Location 112

Table 60 Impressions as to Whether Homeowners are Paying their Fair Share of Local Taxes, by Residence Location 113

Table 61 Impressions as to whether Business and Industry are Paying their Fair Share of Local Taxes, By Residence Location 113

Table 62 Belief that Property Taxes Paid by Local Homeowners is too High and Should not be Increased, By Residence Location 114

Table 63 Belief that Property Taxes Paid on Business and Industrial Property is too High and should not be Increased, By Residence Location 114

Table 64 Attitudes Toward the Principle of Annexation, By Residence Location 116

Table 65 Attitudes Toward Own Community Annexing, By Residence Location 116

Table 66 Desirability of Federal Assistance for Local Public Schools, By Residence Location 118

Table 67 Perceived Necessity for the Federal Government to Provide Financial Assistance for Public Schools Compared with other ways of Meeting Rising School Costs, By Residence Location 118

Table 68 Membership and Activity in Formal Associations, and Vote Cast for the School Building Program 127

Table 69 Membership in Formal Associations and Willingness to Sell Home to a Negro Family. 129

Table 70 Educational Level and Willingness to Sell Home to a Negro Family 131

LIST OF TABLES
(continued)

Table 71 Neighbor Preferences of White Respondents 132

Table 72 Membership in Formal Associations, and Acceptance of Negroes as Neighbors Among White Respondents 134

Table 73 Acceptance of Negroes as Neighbors, By Concentric Zone 135

Table 74 Membership in Formal Associations, and Attitudes Toward Racial Integration of Housing and of Schools in the Detroit Area 138

Table 75 Occupation of Head of Household, By Race, and By Zone 163

Table 76 Occupational Satisfaction, By Race 164

Table 77 Chances for Future Job Satisfaction, By Race 164

Table 78 Perceived Income Adequacy, By Race 165

Table 79 Additional Amount Needed for Adequate Income, By Race 166

Table 80 Occupational Aspirations for Children, By Race 168

Table 81 Parental Perceptions of Children's Chances of Attaining Stated Occupational Objective, By Race, and By Occupation 169

Table 82 Specific Occupational Aspirations for Children Whose Parents Want Their Children to Become "Professional, Technical, or Kindred" Workers 170

Table 83 Occupational Aspirations for Children by Annual Family Income 171

Table 84 Occupational Aspirations for Children, by Educational Level of Parent 172

Table 85 Occupational Aspirations for Children, By Distance Zones 173

Table 86 Attitudinal Support for Millage, By Race, For Central City 174

Table 87 Attitudinal Support for Millage, By Race, And By Child Involvement for Central City 175

Table 88 Attitudinal Support for Millage, By Race, And By Educational Level for Central City 176

Table 89 Attitudinal Support for Millage, By Race, And By Head's Occupation, For Central City 177

Table 90 Attitudinal Support for Millage, By Race, And By Total Family Income for Central City 178

LIST OF FIGURES AND DIAGRAMS

		Page
Diagram A	Factors Influencing Equilibrium of Community Support	12
Diagram B	Concentric Zones in the Detroit SMSA	27
Diagram C	High, Medium, and Low Support School Districts in the Detroit SMSA	97
Figure 1	Interaction Ellipses, Detroit SMSA	150
Figure 2	Center Lines of White Population and of Negro Population, Detroit Area, 1960 and 1940	152
Figure 3	Residential-Interaction Patterns, Detroit Area, 1965	154
Figure 4	Distribution of Negro and White Poverty in the Detroit SMSA	156

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of large scale urbanization is a recent development in man's history. The rapidity and magnitude of change associated with the urbanization process has thrust monumental problems upon all of our major social institutions--from the family, government, and religion--to the economic and educational structures. To the extent that the adjustment process lags behind change, unmet needs accrue and the symptoms of maladjustment proliferate and intensity. A general problem centering around social change therefore concerns how to shorten this adjustment period. Unfortunately, at this historical moment the discovery of feasible modes of adjustment to change is sought almost exclusively through the method of trial and error. This tends to prolong the period of lag. To date there has been little utilization of the method of science to shorten the adjustment period, since the social sciences are not an advanced stage of maturity, and because too few administrators are trained in the interpretation and utilization of social scientific research information. However, it is not unreasonable to assume that the social sciences will begin to play a markedly increased role in helping to expedite adjustment to change, and that closer communication and linkage will occur between urban administration of various types and the social sciences. Educational administration will of necessity be involved in this development. Aside from the specific findings divulged in the study, it is hoped that the report will, by implication, indicate the need and the desirability of a closer linkage between educational administration and the social sciences.

Education and Social Change

As one reviews the literature on urban problems it is difficult to escape the observation that these problems are deeply interrelated, and that the institution of education is a highly significant element in these complex webs of interdependence. For instance, one can hardly review the problem of unemployment without finding a firm association with education. Reflection on the problems of housing can easily trigger off a cycle which goes from housing to income to occupation...to education. Or, in the domain of health, one may again find that educational achievement is usually associated with more adaptive responses to health matters.

This discussion is not intended to suggest that education is the root factor in all urban problems. It is only to stress that the educational factor is a highly significant variable---one which is associated with or frequently tends to reinforce other problems. It is for this reason that intensive research into the problems of education harbors the probability of contributing to the general well-being of cities, as well as for the nation at large.

If one thinks of the entire educational network of the nation as one system--as a social institution--and then reflects upon the nature of the forces in the external environment to which adjustment must be made, two macro-trends in the structure and organization of the society are of utmost significance. First, education has had to adjust to the most massive and rapid growth and relocation of population in the world's history. The main outlines of this pattern may be summarized as a wholesale shift of population from rural to urban areas, and in more recent times as a major movement of population from central city areas to suburban zones. Secondly, the rapid development of urbanized areas has meant a profound increase in the complexity of the division of labor, and a generally increased heterogeneous settlement pattern. Ours is a bi-racial, multi-class population spread about urban space in a highly differentiated manner. While knowledge of these patterns is commonplace, the observation that educational adjustments to them have been many is insufficient as a statement of relationships. The facts are that we know far too little about the precise manner in which population growth and change has influenced education. In a general sense, it might be observed that these changes in the structure and composition of the American population have created two major types of problems: 1) how to get a sufficient or minimal amount of education for all...how to approximate "equality" of opportunity, and 2) how to constantly re-adjust curricula to the end that individuals may come to be adequately articulated to the constantly changing role-structure of the society.

During the past years the employment structure of the society has changed in many significant ways. Concommitant with urbanization there have been striking changes in the technology of the society, a need for increased training in specialized skills, and a decline in the need for unskilled labor.[1] In brief, the market for middle class occupations has increased while the market for unskilled labor has diminished. The dysfunctional nature of the community-school relationship is reflected in the "crash" programs which have been implemented to train the unemployed and the underemployed in the most rudimentary of understandings necessary to employment in the current urban setting. In brief, there is an "educational gap" which needs closing--for purely functional reasons. It might also be observed that in addition to functional reasons for closing this gap there also exists a strong value-orientation to abet the attainment of the same objective. In 1964 Section 204 of the Civil Rights Act stipulated:

> The Commissioner shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and Congress, within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational

---

[1] For instance, see Harry C. Dillingham and David F. Sly, "The Mechanical Cotton Picker, Negro Migration, and the Integration Movement". Human Organization, Vol. 25, No. 4, 1966. pp 344-51.

> opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States, its territories and possessions, and the District of Columbia.

In 1966 this survey was completed and the "Coleman Report" was submitted to the President and Congress.[2] Among its many findings, this report indicated that in the Metropolitan North non-white students as compared to white pupils attend school in older, larger, more crowded buildings. They have access to fewer laboratory facilities, library books, auditoriums, and gymnasiums. The report documents quite clearly that facilities, staffs, and services are distributed unequally. The "reasons" for these variations...how they arose and what forces sustain them, was not the topic of this study. The researchers did, however, document the FACTS of inequality, and then explored the implications of such inequalities for performance levels of students. In addition to the mass of data which this report has provided concerning inequalities of opportunity, it implies a need for inquiry about the social factors which underlie such differences. The significance of ecological patterns for school support would appear to be a promising orientation for such exploration.

The present study is devoted to a limited exploration of this problem. It is an analysis of the effects of social organizational patterns as they occur in urban space, upon school support. The study is limited to one large metropolitan area, the Detroit, Michigan Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). The conceptual basis is primarily ecological, the methodology is that of the sample survey. The following discussions will therefore touch upon a definition of the problem, a delineation of the conceptual orientation, and a description of the methodology.

---

2. James S. Coleman, et al, Equality of Educational Opportunity, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1966.

I THE PROBLEM

At the present time the nation's public schools are dependent upon local support for their continuing welfare. In most American communities the educational welfare of children is tied to the fundamental condition that a majority of the voters will approve a given millage or bond proposal on election day. The situation is of course complicated by the fact that the amount and frequencies of millage requests are a matter of administrative and school board judgments. And these judgments, in turn, are prone to reflect the financial resources of the local school district...resources which vary in the metropolitan area with differentiated settlement and gerrymandered school district boundaries.

Past research has shown quite clearly that the social characteristics of those people who are favorably inclined to school millage proposals are quite different from the social characteristics of nonsupporters. Likewise, differences in the social characteristics of people who tend to vote in school elections differ from those who do not. A rather intensive analysis of the relationship between both attitudinal support for the schools and school voting activity in an upper class Michigan suburb has shown that factors such as length of residence in the community, child-involvement, home ownership status, educational level, and occupation are all significantly related to both attitudes toward millage support, and to voting activity. These relationships were summarized in an identification of four categories of residents:[3]

1. Relatively supportive attitudes; relatively active at the polls.
    a) people who have attended college
    b) people with children of school age
    c) people who are active in voluntary associations (especially PTA)

---

[3] R. V. Smith, Stanley Flory, and Rashid Bashshur, Community Organization and Support of the Schools. U. S. Office of Education, Cooperative Research Project No. 1828. 1964.

2. Relatively supportive attitudes; relatively inactive at the polls.
    a) new residents in the community
    b) people with pre-school age children
    c) renters
3. Relatively non-supportive attitudes; relatively active at the polls.
    a) old residents (people who have resided in the community 15 years or more)
    b) people not in the labor force
4. Relatively non-supportive attitudes; relatively inactive at the polls.
    a) people who have not attended college
    b) people with no children under 18 years of age.

The significance of this study lies in the fact that the social characteristics of a population provide the key to both the attitudinal level of support which the community renders, and the voting tendency of its citizens. As populations vary in the kinds of people of which they are comprised, so will vary school support. What, then, we may ask, occurs as the population of a large metropolitan area undergoes a high rate of deconcentration? What is the effect upon the central city school district? What is the effect upon the proliferation of school districts in the suburban zones? Selective migration accompanying the deconcentration process has resulted in suburban zones which are composed of people who are disproportionately white, young child-rearers, of higher income, educational, and occupational levels. In contrast, the population of the central city area shows two main patterns. In the inner city zone resides a high proportion of people of lower income and educational levels, renters, and non-child-rearers--together with a large proportion of Negro child-rearers who cannot move to the suburban zones. The outer city area tends to be disproportionately populated with older residents, non-child-rearers, and a higher proportion (than inner city) of home owners and purchasers.

If the findings of the previously mentioned suburban study hold true for the entire metropolitan area of Detroit, we might anticipate two major consequences of population deconcentration. First, given a continuation of present settlement patterns, it should become increasingly difficult for the central city school district to muster support for millage proposals.[4] Secondly, owing to the differentiated and clustered settlement in the suburban areas, inequalities in educational support levels should occur there among the 93 school districts.

The situation of Negro parents residing in the inner city zone presents a special case. Their child-rearing status and school enrollment factor would lead us to anticipate attitudinal support for education. However, since they also tend to be predominantly renters, and a high proportion of lower educational levels, we might anticipate a diminished tendency to vote in school elections. In contrast, the older, non-child-rearing citizens of the outer city zone should tend to be less supportive of the schools...and should prove to be more active at the polls. In brief, Negro parents in inner city may be facing a more difficult set of circumstances in trying to promote educational support for their children than are their white counterparts in the suburban zones.

These circumstances carry us to the problem of racially segregated residence. What social forces, existing at the level of the local community, foster the continuation of racially segregated residence? This is an old topic of research and it is explored in the present study from a new perspective. The details of this analysis are set forth in Chapter 5.

---

4. The Detroit Public School System's boundaries are contiguous with Detroit City.

II THE CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION

The principle of local support for the schools and the phenomenon of the local millage election creates a situation all over the land in which educators must periodically turn from their usual routines to conduct a political campaign. The importance of this event has created an understandable interest in how to approach this situation. During the past years there has arisen a strong tendency to view support for the schools as a matter of individual values and even to assume that the entire character of the community-school relationship is ... "ultimately a matter of individual commitment". The implications of this individualistic type of interpretation are many. At best it implies that the practical approach to school support is to conduct a vigorous campaign to change people's attitudes, and/or to get out the (right) vote on election day. While such activities are doubtlessly called for at election time, this perspective can blur the view of a broader and more important landscape. For instance, it may be assumed that school support is primarily a matter of a good publicity department...that winning elections is primarily a challenge to ingenuity and finesse in handling the public. Some may even harbor the covert opinion that those school districts where elections are not carried are managed by inept administrators whose thin budgets reflect what they deserve.

The sobering facts are that millage elections and school support is much more than a simple matter of individual attitudes. School district populations vary greatly in their composition and structure. Moreover, the population of any community may change rapidly, and in a manner which makes adequate school support virtually impossible. The individualistic view does little to help focus upon the structure and composition of the population as a significant factor in school support. Lacking this conceptual orientation, too few administrators keep a close watch on the specific ways in which their school district population is changing as a method of prognosticating the future potential for school support. Neither does the individualistic orientation do anything to help one move beyond the problems of the solitary school district to view the related problems which exist among the many districts in broader areas.

The alternative, herein recommended, is to employ the concept of social organization as an explanatory medium in the analysis of school support. This is to recognize that the composition and structure of populations vary from school district to school district, and with such variation, school support varies. This is to further recognize that the people of a given community play many roles, and the roles people play, the circumstances in which they exist, determine needs. As the people in the community go about their daily business of performing their specialized activities, different kinds of needs arise for different groups of people. As a result, similar perspectives on educational support will tend to characterize similar groups of people...and variations in perspective will occur among the various groups. This is not an individual matter, it is a matter of social organization and the kinds and amounts of roles that exist in any given system. For instance, mothers of young children looking ahead to the future of their offspring will obviously harbor concerns about education of a different order from that of older women whose problems center around adjustment to the exigencies of a limited retirement budget. To gain deeper insights into precisely how such organizational properties are associated with school support is a means of providing some basis for making closer estimates of current as well as future potential for local support. Of greatest importance is the fact that such analyses could well indicate when a given system of school finance is functional...and when it may be reaching the end of its rope.

The basic contention set forth in this study is that support for the public schools varies in relationship to the distribution of social characteristics over urban space. Hence it is now necessary to clarify the conceptualization of school support, determine the appropriate spatial dimensions to be employed in the analysis, and delineate those social characteristics associated with school support.

A. SCHOOL SUPPORT

The concept "school support" has many possible meanings and several potential methods of operationalization. If we are to consider support in the financial sense, the importance of the school millage or bond election is at once evident. In this setting we may speak of the level of support which the citizens of the school district accord their schools. However, it is important to further clarify by asking, "Supportive with respect to what issue, under what circumstances, and at what point in time?" The degree to which a school district is supportive may be conceived as situational, as existing at a given point in time, and as ranging between the polar extremes of very low to very high.

In this framework two possible measures of community support may be provided. One is extant in the attitudes of the community...it is the predisposition to vote in a given manner on a given millage proposal. This is LATENT support. In contrast, the collective result of a school millage election is not an attitudinal measure as such, but is a collective measure of overt acts. This is MANIFEST support. It is of great importance to differentiate these two dimensions, since it is highly possible for the social characteristics of a community to be such that the community produces a high level of latent support, but a low level of manifest support. Or, it may produce the opposite combination.

It is also important to bear in mind that the explanatory medium of the support level, be it manifest or latent, resides in the social organizational properties of the community. Some properties of the community will tend to depress the level of support; other properties will tend to elevate the support level. An existing level of support may be viewed as a resultant of all of the salient organizational characteristics of the community. Any changes in the level indicates modifications in the equilibrium of these forces from a prior period. Non-change in the support level indicates no modifications have occurred, or that any increase or decrease in supportive factors has been met by an equal increase or decrease in depressive elements. The diagram on the following page is intended to represent these conditions.[5]

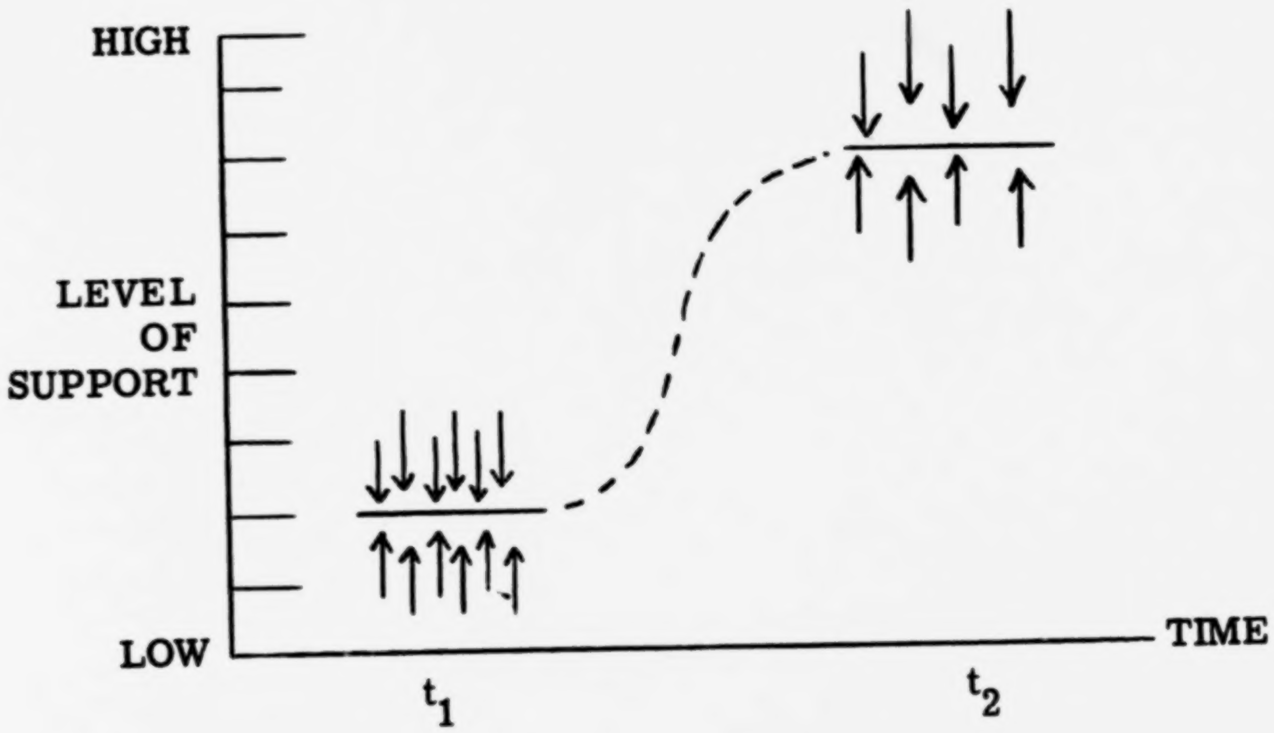
In addition to the decision-making role exercised by the citizens of the community in accepting or rejecting proposals provided by the local school board and administration, it is important to recognize the existence of a set of "silent decision-makers" whose influence is often overlooked. Here we refer to the county and state tax-allocation boards which, together with the state legislature, may account for considerable modification in the school taxation picture. These bodies render decisions concerning the allocation of local and state revenues, set millage ceilings, and derive "equalization" procedures. For conceptual purposes, we might envision a major tax channel which leads from the citizens and branches off in many directions to terminate at the various areas supported by tax monies. Placed at strategic points along the taxation channel are the "gatekeepers" -- the previously-mentioned groups which have the power to divert or to modify the rate of flow into the

---

5. See Kurt Lewin's discussion of quasi-stationary equilibria and the problem of permanent change, in "Group Decision and Social Change", in Readings in Social Psychology, 3rd ed., ed. by Newcomb, Maccoby and Hartley (New York, Henry Holt, 1958), pp. 207-8.

Diagram A

FACTORS INFLUENCING EQUILIBRIUM OF COMMUNITY SUPPORT



The degree to which a community is supportive of its schools is conceived as existing at a given level at a given point in time, and as ranging between polar extremes of very high and very low. A given level of support indicates a resultant of community forces. Some of these forces tend to increase the level of support; some tend to depress the level of support.

For instance, the increased level of support for the schools between time period 1 (t_1) and time period 2 (t_2) in the above diagram might occur because of a marked increase in the proportion of people in the population with pre-school age children, an increase in the proportion of college educated persons, a decrease in the rate of residential mobility, and so forth.

various sub-channels. The school districts are among these terminal points. While the present study is not directed to the dynamics of the taxation channels or the influence of the gatekeepers, it is important to note their existence, since the ultimate economic status of the local school district is modified by these groups.

In brief, over and beyond the phenomenon of the school millage election there are additional political processes which modify the support level. It is for this reason that a measure of support is needed which will reflect both of these processes. Such a summary measure is provided in the records of expenses per audited membership. These "per-pupil expenditures" of the various school districts are herein used as a measure of "de-facto" support. Where the latent and manifest levels of support reflect the organizational properties of the community, de-facto support represents an altering factor, attributable to political machinery extant at the county and state levels.

The analyses which follow are based upon these three primary conceptualizations of school support. Latent and manifest support reflects the attitudes and voting tendencies of the population of the school district, and de-facto support provides a summary reflection of both citizen activity and the political machinery extant in the taxation channels. Methods of operationalizing these notions of support are described in the discussion of methodology.

B. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: THE GROWTH AND DECONCENTRATION OF METROPOLITAN AREAS

Previous discussion has dealt with the conceptualization of school support levels. Since these levels are assumed to vary with the social organizational properties of the community, it now remains to describe the nature of those social patterns with the potentiality for influencing school support. The primary phenomenon dealt with concerns metropolitan deconcentration. There is a relatively rich research literature in this area and while practically none of it touches upon educational problems per se it is this literature upon which many of the assumptions of this study are based. The central observation is that the rapid growth of metropolitan areas and the deconcentration of population within these areas have been two of the most significant characteristics of American society during the past three decades.

As early as 1899, embryonic patterns of deconcentration accompanying the growth of urban population in New York and London were being observed by Adna Weber.[6] Thirty-four years later the full impact of this trend was depicted by McKenzie[7] in his analysis of the rise of the urban community in the United States. In addition to demonstrating the increasing tendency of population to concentrate in and around large cities, McKenzie observed that:

> ...the most conspicuous form of population shift within the metropolitan area is the so-called suburban or 'out-going' tendency.[8]

Further documentation of these trends followed a few years later in Thompson's analysis of the growth of metropolitan districts in the United States from 1900 to 1940.[9]

---

6. Adna F. Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century (New York, Columbia University Press, 1899).

7. R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1933).

8. Ibid., p. 173.

9. Warren S. Thompson, The Growth of Metropolitan Districts in the United States, 1900-1904 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947.

Still more recent analyses of metropolitan growth and deconcentration have been provided by Bogue[10] and by Hawley.[11] The latter has summed up the extent of metropolitan growth as follows:

> In every decade since metropolitan areas were first identified and reported separately in census volumes, the part of the population so classified has maintained a higher growth rate than has any other part of the nation's population ... the rate of metropolitan growth exceeded in almost every decade the rate of total population growth by 50 per cent or more, and it exceeded the growth of rate of population residing outside of metropolitan areas by 100 to 300 per cent.[12]

Equal in importance to the quantitative aspect of the growth of metropolitan areas is the pattern of outward flow of population away from central cities in these areas. The outlying portions of metropolitan communities have been growing much more rapidly than have the centers. The extent of this growth has been summarized by data which indicate that the proportion of metropolitan population occupying satellite areas has increased steadily from 23 per cent in the 44 districts reported in 1910, to 42 per cent in the 168 areas reported in 1950.[13] In the period 1940 to 1950, the population rings surrounding the central cities of the great metropolitan areas grew two and a half times as fast as did the central cities.[14]

---

[10] Donald J. Bogue, Metropolitan Decentralization: A Study of Differential Growth (Oxford, Ohio, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 1959): Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Communities 1900-1950 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1953).

[11] Amos H. Hawley, The Changing Shape of Metropolitan American (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1956).

[12] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Donald J. Bogue, "Urbanism in the United States, 1950," The American Journal of Sociology, LX (March, 1955), p. 481.

These two facts, the growth of metropolitan populations, and the related eruption of post World War II suburbs, has presented a series of theoretical problems of major importance for sociologists. One of the more pertinent of such problems concerns the effect of population redistribution upon social organization in urban areas. What kinds of people are settling where, and with what consequences?

Areal Units of Analysis and Related Concepts

In order to reduce the seeming chaos and complexity of urban areas to some degree of order and regularity, ecologists, and workers in allied fields have come to correlate patterns of spatial distribution with various aspects of social organization. Differing types of land use, the sequence of growth, maturation, and deterioration, and many characteristics of the population have been shown to approximate natural areas,[15] sectors,[16] interrelated nuclei,[17] and concentric zones.[18] A series of explanatory principles related to these areal units of analysis includes the concepts of gradient, segregation, and friction of space which are of particular significance in this study.

---

[15] R. D. McKenzie, "The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus Ohio," American Journal of Sociology, XXVII (1921-22).

[16] Arthur M. Weimer and Homer Hoyt, Principles of Urban Real Estate (New York, 1939), pp. 60-70; and Federal Housing Administration, The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities (New York, 1939)

[17] Ibid.

[18] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess (eds.), The City Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 51.

Natural Areas: The Principle of Segregation

One of the earliest systematic studies of spatial distributions of social phenomena in a population was McKenzie's study of Columbus, Ohio, in which he developed the conception of natural areas in the city and demonstrated a correlation between types of neighborhoods and certain behavior patterns, including population mobility, dependency, and delinquency. The natural area was described as resulting from segregation, wherein

> the general effect of the continuous sifting and sorting of the city's population...is to produce a patchwork of local areas differentiated from one another by cultural, racial, or linguistic peculiarities.[19]

Robert Park and Ernest W. Burgess similarly viewed the areal structure of the urban community as a resultant of mobility and an attendant "sifting and sorting" of population terminating in segregation.[20] Both the physical pattern of the city, and related behavorial variations were declared to be resultants of segregation.

More recently, the same principle has been expounded by Amos Hawley when he observes that population distribution in a community is a product of segregation with like units having similar requirements and clustering together in space because they subsist upon the same conditions.[21] Thus settlement is held to be differentiated and gathered closely about certain points in space. Even familial units are thought to be attracted to different areas in accordance with such intrinsic characteristics as ability to pay rent and transportation costs, ethnic affilitation, and so forth.[22] Hence residential units tend to be distributed in space

---

19. McKenzie, American Journal of Sociology, XXVII, p. 196.

20. Park and Burgess, City, p. 54.

21. Hawley, Human, p. 274

22. Ibid., p. 275

with reference to land values, location of other types of units and with regard to time and cost of transportation to centers of activities.[23]

Concentric Zones, the Gradient Principle, and Behavioral Correlates

Following McKenzie's early (Columbus) study, a number of investigations ensued, substantiating his observations. The works of Shaw,[24] Mowrer,[25] Thrasher,[26] Faris and Dunham,[27] Hoyt,[28] and Bowers,[29] were but a portion of the many to verify a correlation between urban settlement patterns and a wide variety of behaviors, including delinquency rates, divorce and desertion, adult felonies, mental disease, racial composition, birth rates, and other attributes of populations. However, these studies of spatial distributions stressed an added point which demonstrated the usefulness of the gradient concept -- the analysis of given variables according to the rate of increase or decrease over a given distance. Accordingly, the rates of the previously mentioned behaviors all followed the pattern of a gradient when analyzed on the basis of increasing distances from the center of the city.

Burgess' work, which preceded the above investigations, viewed the areal structure of the urban community as resulting from a differentiation of land use or population type in terms of a series of

---

23. Ibid., p. 280

24. C. R. Shaw, Delinquency Areas (Chicago, 1927).

25. E. R. Mowrer, The Family (Chicago 1932).

26. F. M. Thrasher, The Gang (Chicago 1937).

27. R. E. Faris, and H. Warren Dunham, Mental Disorders in Urban Areas (Chicago 1939).

28. Homer Hoyt, The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities, Federal Housing Administration (Washington, D.C., 1939).

29. R. V. Bowers, "Ecological Patterning of Rochester, New York, "American Sociological Review, IV (April 1939), pp. 180-89.

concentric zones distributed about a common center, the central business district. The common center was held to be the locus of forces of growth instrumental in forming the spatial pattern of the city. With continued growth of the center, other uses of land, notably residential uses, were seen to withdraw to peripheral sites.[30]

While Burgess' scheme has been criticized as being greatly over-simplified,[31] and as stressing a mono-centered pattern where a multi-centered one exists,[32] the importance of the urban center as a point of reference for understanding the spatial patterning of community life has come to be generally accepted by ecologists. The urban center is frequently viewed as the nucleus of the spatial patternings of community life which serves to integrate and to administer man's complex web of interdependencies. Its utility as a benchmark in community analysis and research needs no defense.

Friction of Space and Distance Zones

While the principle of segregation helps in an understanding of the necessity of nucleated settlement patterns, it does not adequately explain the underlying reasons for the patterns of distribution in space which those units assume in human communities. One explanation, promoted by various writers, is the friction of space hypothesis. According to this conceptualization,

> ...the layout of a metropolis--the assignment of activities to areas--tends to be determined by a principle which may be termed the minimizing of the cost of friction.[33]

---

[30] Park and Burgess, City, pp. 47-63.

[31] Homer Hoyt, "City Growth and Mortgage Risk," Insured Mortgage Portfolio, Vol. 1. No's 6-10 (Dec. 1936-April 1937); Passim: The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities, (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1939).

[32] Hawley, Human, p. 268.

[33] Hawley, Changing, pp. 3-4.

This friction

> ...mounts with the additions to distance, assuming a given transportation technology; that is, the time and energy that must be expanded to pass over space increases as the space to be overcome is lengthened.[34]

The friction of space hypothesis is useful not only in understanding processes related to differentiation, it also accounts, together with the fact that area increases as the square of the distance, for the well known gradient phenomenon. By indicating that the distribution in space of nucleated units decreases as the time and energy that must be spent to pass over space increases, an explanation is at hand to account for the familiar gradient pattern observed in the distribution of community units of various types. This point has been demonstrated in Hawley's study of the distribution of metropolitan growth rates in the United States.[35] Distance zones were plotted in five mile intervals from the site of the city hall outward to a thirty-five mile limit. When population growth rates were determined for these distance zones, a fairly uniform gradient was demonstrated for Extended Metropolitan Areas; growth rates decline with distance from central cities.[36]

The friction of space hypothesis together with the related gradient principle would therefore appear to be logical and tested devices to be employed in an ecological analysis of the emerging outer rings of the metropolitan community. Units of social organization (e.g. demographic and socio-economic characteristics) thereby may be conceived as differentially cast in urban space (e.g. in concentric zonation) with friction of space helping to account for the patterns assumed by these variables.

---

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid. Hawley's "Extended Metropolitan Area" is an area"...having the same central city as the Standard Metropolitan Area, and includes all counties, or, in New England, all minor civil divisions with centers within 35 miles of the inner core of the central city." p.6.

While the heuristic merits of the gradient principle and concentric zonation are quite well established, it must be noted that such analysis assumes single-centered urban patterns. To the extent that a given metropolitan area has evolved from a single-centered to a multi-centered stage of development, deviations from the basic (mononucleated) gradient pattern should be anticipated. The importance of this factor with respect to interaction patterns is examined in a recent study of Gordon Sutton's[37] which reveals that the centripetal movement of traffic in the Detroit area constitutes less than 40 per cent of all traffic movement in that metropolitan area. The preponderance of lateral traffic patterns over centripetal movement attests to the significance of multi-centered activity in the Detroit area.

Spatial Frames of Reference

To date common spatial frames of reference applied to analyses of metropolitan area phenomena have involved one or a combination of these areas: inner city, suburban fringe, or rural-urban fringe. The prevalence of these spatial units in recent ecological literature has prompted William Dobriner to describe a "model metropolitan area" as consisting of a central city, a suburban zone, and a rural-urban fringe.[38] It was within such an analytical framework that Duncan and Reiss compared demographic characteristics of central cities with those of the suburban and urban fringe zones. Differences with respect to sex rations, age

---

37. Gordon Sutton, Travel Patterns in an Urban Community (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1958).

38. William Dobriner (ed.), The Suburban Community (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), p. xvii.

composition, fertility ratios, marital status, racial composition, and many other characteristics were found to exist between central city and those urbanized areas outside central city limits (suburbs and urban fringe).[39]

While most comparative analyses of metropolitan areas have involved a central city-suburban fringe distinction, a study by Harry Sharp[40] of intracommunity migration patterns in the Detroit area distinguishes an "inner city" zone, extending four miles from city hall; an "outer city" zone extending from the inner city zone to the Detroit city limits; and a "suburban fringe" zone which extends from the city limits to boundaries approximating those of the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Area.

One of the most striking findings of this study is the fact that with respect to both mobility patterns and population characteristics, outer city residents resemble suburban fringe residents more than they do inner city residents.[41] Thus, the areal distinction which divides inner city from outer city is more significant than the one which divides outer city from the suburban fringe. The implications of such a finding are quite obvious when it is recalled that Sharp's "inner city" and outer city," so different in population characteristics, are frequently treated as one homogenous unit (central city) which is then compared with a suburban zone, and/or a rural-urban fringe area, as in the previously mentioned model proposed by Dobringer.[42]

---

39. Otis D. Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), pp. 117-133.

40. Sharp's Analysis appears in A Social Profile of Detroit 1956 (Ann Arbor: Detroit Area Study, Department of Sociology and the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research, 1957) Chap. 2, "Residential Mobility in Greater Detroit," pp. 9-26.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

To summarize, various population characteristics may be conceptualized as falling into areal patterns wherein segregation--the differentiation of population units of residental areas--results from mobility and an attendent sifting and sorting of population. Friction of space provides varying pressures upon people of different income level, occupation, race, family life cycle stage, and other such characteristics. This results in segregation of such characteristics and often produces a spread of these variables from the center of the city to the periphery in a pattern which assumes the characteristics of a gradient.

Since the distribution of units on this gradient does not always exhibit a uniform rate of increase, but may cluster to some degree, it is sometimes appropriate to describe the resulting patterns in terms of concentric distance zones. A recent tendency has been for researchers to analyze data on the basis of the political boundaries of "central city" and "suburban" zones. It has been suggested that another procedure might be to describe basic zones only after the independent variables (or population characteristics) have been plotted on a spatial continuum from the center to the periphery of the metropolitan area, and actual cluster patterns observed. Sharp's data appear to lend support to this procedure, since greater variation in the distribution of certain demographic data occurs between the two distance zones within the "central city" area than occurs between "central city" and the "suburban fringe" zones in the Detroit area.

In addition, it must also be borne in mind that a basic limitation to conceptions of spatial zones within gradient frameworks stems from the fact that most urban communities no longer follow the descriptive pattern of simple mono-centered communities. Consideration must be given to changes that occur as the gradient pattern found in single-centered communities is influenced by the developing multi-centered community pattern.

III METHODOLOGY

The Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) is the research site. This area is comprised of all of Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties. Like other large metropolitan areas in this nation the pattern of growth in the Detroit SMSA is one characterized by over-all increase, but with a decline of the central city population and marked growth in the suburban area. It might be noted that the Detroit city boundaries are contiguous with the boundaries of the Detroit Public School system. In the suburban rings, expanding population there has resulted in a proliferation of school districts, some 93 in all at the time of the field phase of the study. The population of the Detroit SMSA in 1960 was 3,762,360--the population of the City of Detroit was 1,670,144.

Respondents for this study were selected from the population of persons 21 years of age and older living in households within the sample boundaries (the Detroit SMSA). A probability sample design, stratified by ecological zone, yielded a total of 1175 persons inverviewed. A completion rate of 87 per cent was achieved. Institutionalized and transient persons are not represented in the sample. Owing to the relatively sparse settlement in the outermost zone (zone 6), a weighting procedure was employed and extra cases were drawn into the sample for this area alone. These additional cases were all identified and withdrawn from analyses which required a probability sample of the SMSA. In this instance, the total cases number 931. The additional cases are included in special instances when comparisons are made on a zonal basis only, and when the entire SMSA is of no consequence. In the latter instance, the extra cases provide statistical significance where it would otherwise be lacking. The sample was designed and drawn by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan.[43]

Field interviewing was conducted by a staff of professional interviewers during the late spring and early summer of 1965. To reduce interviewer bias on racial questions all Negro respondents were interviewed by Negro interviewers, and all white respondents were interviewed by white interviewers. A copy of the interview schedule is included in "Appendix A". In addition to the usual procedures in the field a somewhat unique procedure was introduced. The interviewer carried a specially printed large map of the Detroit SMSA. When respondents were asked questions concerning their membership in voluntary associations and about their informal associational contacts (with friends, neighbors, relatives, and co-workers), the respondent was asked, and assisted, to designate the point location where these contacts occurred. That is, they were asked to designate where they went for meetings of voluntary associations and where they interacted with friends, relatives, and co-workers. In addition, the point location of their own residence was indicated, along with workplace and school location for those respondents with school-age children. During the coding process, a plastic grid was placed over these maps and coordinates derived for every point location plotted. This procedure provided the basis for the centrographic procedures described at a later point in the study.[44] Through this technique it was possible to derive graphic portrayals of human interaction patterns over urban space. This procedure is utilized in Chapter V.

---

[43] Full details of the sample design are available from the authors upon request.

Since the design of the study is oriented to the phenomenon of population deconcentration, major attention is given to the delineation of six concentric zones within the SMSA. Four of these zones fall within the boundaries of the central city and at approximately two mile intervals. The fifth zone consists of the tightly packed population ring immediately surrounding the central city. A sixth ring consists of the remaining, more sparsely populated area lying between the inner suburban ring and the boundaries of the SMSA. For purposes of convenience, some of the analyses will refer to rings 1 and 2 of central city as "inner city", while rings 3 and 4 of central city will be referred to as "outer city". For some analyses, the inner city and outer city zones are compared with the inner suburban and outer suburban rings. It might be noted that the delineation of these boundaries was built upon prior descriptions arrived at in the University of Michigan Sociology Department's Detroit Area Studies. The major departure from their procedure was the inclusion of the "outer suburban" zone which varies greatly in its composition and settlement pattern from the inner city zone. Later analyses proved this distinction to be a fortunate one. "Diagram B" on the following page provides a graphic portrayal of these zones.

---

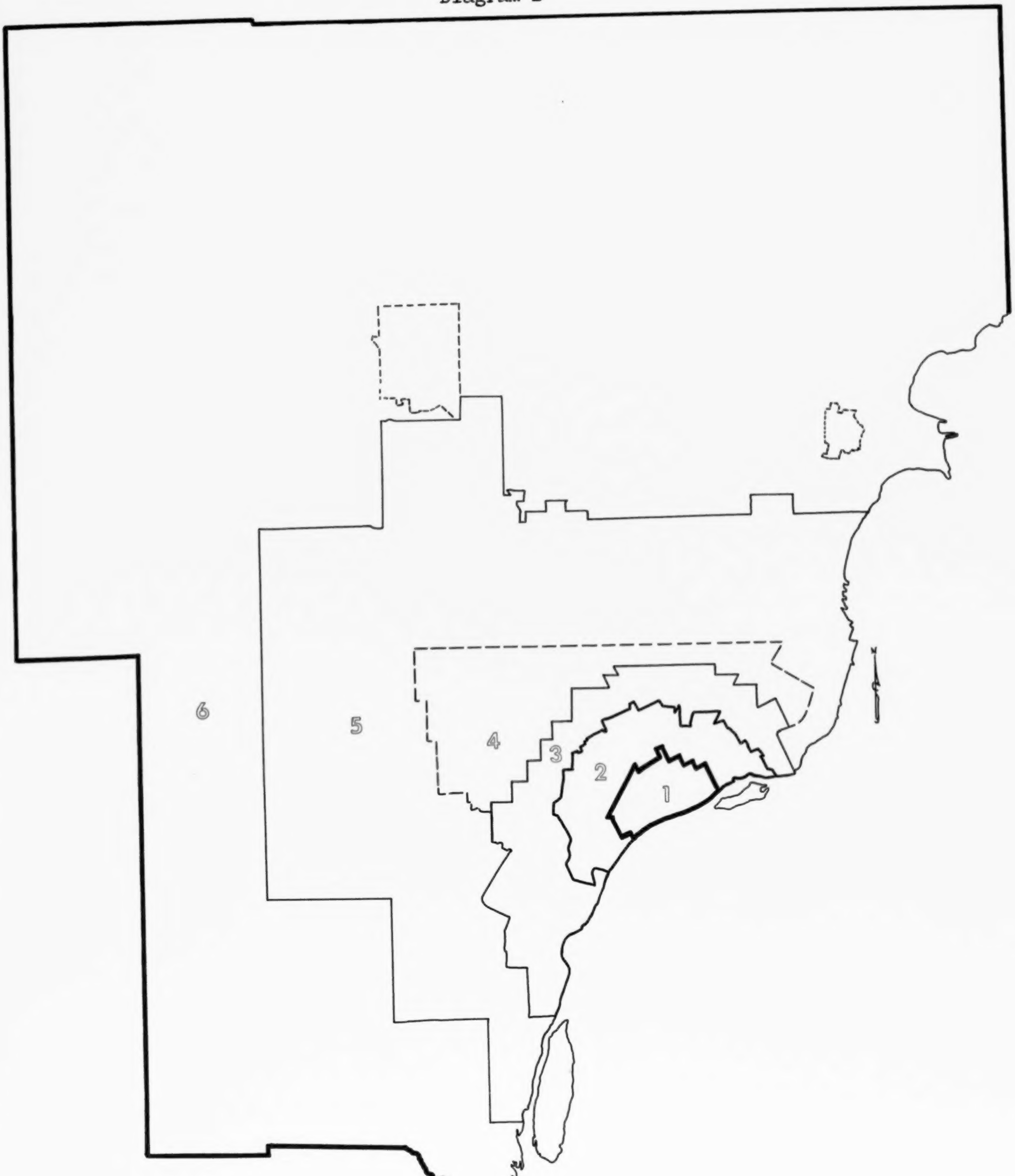
[44] A full description of these procedures is available upon request.

Significance of Data

In interpreting data obtained from a sample survey, one invariably faces the question of the significance of his figures. For instance, how large should a significant difference between two percentages be? Or, what is the true value of any given percent? Unless the findings uncovered in the sample survey are reasonably close to the facts in the population, very little factual information can be gained. This section will explain the general usefulness of the research data that are presented in this report primarily in terms of their representation of the Birmingham community.

It should be emphasized that a sample survey such as the present one yields useful but not exact estimates of the values which it seeks to measure in the population. In other words, statistical values obtained from a sample survey are not the same as those of the total universe under consideration. In making sample surveys, two types of error are usually involved: (a) Human error which occurs in various stages of the research operation such as errors in reporting or coding, and (b) sampling error which reflects the random variations which occur as a result of

Diagram B



CONCENTRIC ZONES IN THE DETROIT SMSA

interviewing only a fraction of the total population. A third source of error involves non-response. The problem of non-response stems from the fact that, for various reasons, it is nearly impossible to interview every person who is selected in the sample.

Whereas the application of care and caution could serve the important function of reducing or limiting human error, sampling error is inherent in the fact that sample statistics are usually larger or smaller than the values which would have been obtained had the whole population been interviewed. Furthermore, the exact difference between sample values and population values is an unknown quantity. All that can be verified is a range on either side of the sample value within which the population value can be expected to lie with a given probability of success. Hence, sampling error is a measure of the expected variation of a sample statistic from the corresponding value in the population.

The data contained in this report show the frequency of respondents who gave specific answers to the various items in the questionnaire, including relevant cross tabulations. All figures are given in terms of percentages. In order to establish the significance of these distributions, various "confidence intervals" are computed using different sizes of sampled groups. A confidence interval indicates the range within which the population value can be expected to lie with a given probability. In this instance, a 95 per cent level of confidence is used. This means that with 95 in 100 the "true" population value is within the range indicated. This also means that in a probability of 5 in 100 the population value will be outside this range. Tables A-1 and A-2 in Appendix B (green paper) are offered as aids to the interpretation of the significance of the reported findings. However, on the basis of our computations, any difference of at least 10 percentage points between two or more independent groups in the sample is a "true" difference in the population. This is a very conservative estimate which is offered for the reader who wishes a quick evaluation of the tables.

CHAPTER II

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS BY CONCENTRIC ZONE

This chapter has one solitary purpose. It is to describe the extent to which social characteristics of relevance to the community-school relationship are differentially spread by concentric zone within the Detroit SMSA. As a point of departure it might be noted that population units are never scattered evenly over urban space. If this were the case, the Detroit SMSA would be a totally different place than it is and there would be little point in this study. Since the foundation of the study rests upon the observation that population characteristics, differentially spread in urban space, influence the community-school relationship, it is our task to describe the pattern of unevenness, to measure the variation and degree of unevenness at different points, and then to discover the consequences for educational support of these patterns.

The particular pattern of unevenness which we are herein concerned with is one which is associated with the phenomenon of deconcentration—the selective outward migration and settlement of the metropolitan population. The concentric zonation model is basically well-suited for this type of description and analysis. The first step is one of determining the extent to which variations in school support related variables occur among the six concentric zones of the Detroit SMSA. The second step, which is undertaken in following chapters, is one of determining the extent to which these distributive patterns are associated with variations in school support levels.

In the tables which follow, it is hoped that the reader will be led to a deeper appreciation of the richly varied differences which occur among the six zones of the Detroit SMSA, and will reflect upon the significance and meaning of such variations for education in general. While the focus of the present study is upon school support, the ecological patterns of the community harbor significance well beyond this domain. For instance, there is a current tendency to dichotomize school problems into categories of central city and suburbs, or to simply compare "THE slums and THE suburbs." The ensuing data should help broaden such notions, for the evidence points to zonal gradients (or continuua), rather than to dichotomies; to an outer city ring which more closely resembles the inner suburban ring than it does the inner city rings. In fact, the heterogeneity of the central city population is of considerable importance to the central city schools, as will be noted at a later point.

While the concentric zonation model will reveal some of the heterogeneity of settlement, it has a basic shortcoming which must be considered in this study. This type of analysis is gross—concentric zonation averages the occurrence of events within each ring and thereby conceals the extent to which variations occur within the ring. This problem is approached in another type of analysis in Chapter IV which deals with variations in per-pupil expenditures among the 94 school districts of the two suburban zones.

Several questions may be asked upon perusal of the following tables. For instance, what will this metropolitan landscape look like ten, fifteen, and twenty years from now? What effect will the open housing ordinance have upon the peripheral expansion of the Negro population? What will the inner suburban zone be like?....Will it eventually come to resemble the present outermost zone of central city? And, will the present outer suburban zone come to resemble the present inner city zone? Once we can establish the significance of ecological patterns for urban education, future plottings of change in zonal composition could lead us to more accurate reflections of needed educational adaptations. This should be the domain of future and ongoing research.

The tables which appear on the following pages have been grouped into four general areas. The intention is one of providing a rather broad description of concentric zonal patterns. The problem of description of tabular content is always a challenge to the author-reader relationship. The procedure herein employed is to offer a few guiding comments and to assume the reader will do the bulk of his own interpretation. For the person who is browsing, the comments should provide the basic gist of what is contained in the tables.

There are four major patterns which carry throughout most of these tables. The major trends which the reader may observe are the following:

1. For many variables (but not all) the familiar gradient pattern may be observed up to zone 5. That is, frequencise increase or decrease with increasing distance from city center as far as zone 5. However, the pattern frequently changes at this point and many of the frequencies begin to assume a curvilinear trend.

2. Zone 3 is transitional in many of its characteristics. This is especially so in the distribution of race. It also shows a transitional quality with respect to several other variables.

3. Zone 6 (outer suburbia) shows characteristics of a different order from zone 5 (inner suburbia) for many variables. This fact strengthens the previous observation that it is misleading to conceive of THE suburbs as a single zone where evenness prevails.

A. ZONAL DISTRIBUTIONS, BY RACE, AND SOCIAL CLASS AND RELATED VARIABLES

1. Race

Perhaps the most striking fact about Table 1 is the very low proportion of Negroes residing in the two suburban rings. It should be noted, moreover, that this pattern is not at all atypical of the Detroit SMSA. A similar pattern prevails among all of the 12 largest SMSA's in the nation. According to 1960 Census data, Cleveland's suburban ring is the least integrated with 99.2 per cent white, while Baltimore's suburban ring is the "most integrated" with 93.1 per cent whites.

2. Educational Background

Table 2 shows the not-so-surprising fact that the greater the amount of education, the greater the probability of settlement in inner suburbia. This table also shows the pattern previously alluded to....educational levels tend to increase up to zone 5, and then show a moderate decline. Over 2/3 of the inner city residents have not completed high school, and half have not gone beyond the 9th grade. However, 1/3 of the inner suburban residents have not completed high school, 16 per cent have not gone beyond the 9th grade.

3. Annual Family Income

The distribution of income shows a pronounced gradient from zone 1 to zone 5. The greater the income, the greater the probability of living in inner suburbia. The accumulation of poverty in the inner city area is reflected in the fact that 1/3 of zone 1 families earn less than $3,000 per year...over half get along on less than $5,000. This rate is five times as great as inner suburbia. It might also be observed that small, but consistent differences occur between the two suburban zones. Income levels depress from zone 5 to zone 6.

4. Home Ownership Status

Table 4 divulges a trend in home ownership which parallels the trend in income. Again the increase in ownership or purchasing status may be seen to increase rapidly to zone 5, where a decline is encountered upon going to zone 6.

5. Perceptions of Income Status

Tables 5 and 6 reveal a parallelism between the objective facts of income levels and perceptions of income-ranking (Table 5) and income adequacy (Table 6).

However, one may be struck with the fact that "average" and "adequate" do not mean the same thing to respondents. By comparing Tables 5 and 6, it may be seen that a higher proportion of people rank their incomes "adequate", than rank them "average". Moreover, this difference is attributable to the fact that above average means adequate to some people, rather than below average meaning adequate.

It is one thing to know what proportion of people feel their incomes to be inadequate and another thing to know how much more is needed to make them adequate, subjectively speaking. Table 7 shows that approximately 2/5 of the Detroit SMSA residents feel their incomes to be inadequate to meet family needs, and 1/10 feel they would need to increase their incomes from $1,000 to $2,000 to achieve adequacy.

Table 1

RACE, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Race	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
White	40%	39%	54%	93%	98%	97%	80%
Non-white	60	61	46	7	2	3	20
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No Cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 2

AMOUNT OF EDUCATION, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Amount of Education	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Less than 9 years	51%	33%	27%	18%	16%	22%	23%
9 to less than 12	17	35	29	23	19	28	24
Finished H.S.	21	19	31	39	37	33	33
Some College	11	13	13	20	28	17	20
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No Cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 3

TOTAL FAMILY INCOME, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Total Annual Family Income	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Under $3,000	33%	19%	17%	12%	7%	13%	14%
$3,000-4,999	26	29	18	15	5	8	14
$5,000-6,999	20	29	27	20	17	24	20
$7,000-9,999	12	15	21	23	31	31	25
$10,000 & over	4	6	15	29	37	23	25
D.K./N.A.	5	2	2	1	3	1	2
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 4

HOME OWNERSHIP STATUS, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Residential Status	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Owns	14%	14%	31%	39%	32%	36%	30%
Buying	14	17	29	36	52	41	37
Renting	60	66	31	20	11	14	27
Other*	11	3	9	5	5	9	5
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No Cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

*"Other" includes living with parents, relatives, or friends.

Table 5

SELF-RANKING OF TOTAL FAMILY INCOME, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

"Is your family income"	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Above average	7%	13%	18%	29%	38%	23%	26%
Average	50	49	53	48	49	51	49
Below average	33	33	22	20	11	16	20
Don't know	10	5	7	3	2	10	5
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 6

RESPONDENT PERCEPTION OF FAMILY INCOME ADEQUACY, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Adequacy of income	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
More than adequate	2%	6%	8%	13%	18%	11%	12%
Adequate	67	61	58	61	70	70	66
Less than adequate	30	33	33	26	12	18	22
Don't know	1		1			1	
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 7

RESPONDENT'S ESTIMATE OF AMOUNT OF ANNUAL INCOME INCREMENT NEEDED TO MEET FAMILY'S NEEDS, BY RESIDENCE ZONE

Extra amount needed	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Currently enough	71%	66%	65%	74%	88%	81%	78%
$1,000 or less	2	9	10	7	3	6	6
$1,000 to 1,999	12	13	12	10	5	8	9
$2,000 to 2,999	10	5	5	2	2	2	4
More than $3,000	4	6	6	5	2	1	3
Don't know	1	1	2	2		2	1
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 8

JOB SATISFACTION, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Satisfaction with present job	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Satisfied	73%	73%	75%	83%	87%	87%	82%
Not satisfied	27	25	21	14	8	7	13
Don't know		2	4	3	5	6	5
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

B. RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND BACKGROUND

Table 9 shows that 1/3 of the inner city residents have lived in the Detroit area for one year or less. However, an equivalent proportion have lived in the Detroit area for 8 years or more. It is of further interest that zone 4 residents have lived in the area the longest, while zone 5 residents are a close second in this regard. Thus the greatest activity in the realm of residential mobility has occurred in the inner city area...and, in the outer suburban zone.

Analysis of place of previous residence (Table 10) shows a reverse distribution of persons previously residing in Detroit, and those who previously resided in a Southern State. While the migrants from the South have settled in a centripital pattern, those whose previous residence was in Detroit have settled in a centrifugal fashion. Much of this relationship is due to the fact that a high proportion of the Southern migrants are Negroes.

Tables 11 and 12 are included to indicate the extent to which Detroit area residents plan to move within the next year. Close to 1/4 of the families plan to move, and most of these anticipate moving within the Detroit area. However, it is interesting to note that the intention of moving declines with increasing distance from zone 1 through zone 5. Where half of the zone 1 residents plan to move within a year, only 16 per cent of inner suburban residents anticipate a new location.

Table 13 reinforces the patterns portrayed in the previous four tables. One-third of the Detroit area residents were born in the Detroit area—one-fourth were born in the South. While the proportions of those born in the Detroit area increases by zone with increasing distance from the city center, those born in the South tend to cluster in the inner city area and thin out with increasing distance from zone 1.

Table 9

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE DETROIT AREA, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Length of Residence	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
One year or less	32%	33%	22%	16%	18%	33%	23%
2-3 yrs	14	15	15	12	11	11	13
4-5 yrs	14	16	9	14	13	7	13
6-7 yrs	9	2	8	5	14	6	9
8 years or more	31	34	46	52	44	43	42
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 10

PLACE OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Place of previous residence	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Detroit area	17%	21%	37%	43%	45%	46%	38%
N'eastern state	2	8	9	10	9	7	8
N'central state	12	8	8	8	9	12	9
Michigan		5	6	15	13	17	12
South	57	48	31	10	12	12	22
Western state	2	1		2	1	2	1
Canada	2	3	2	5	3	1	3
Other foreign	7	6	5	7	5	1	5
D.k./N.a.		1	3	1	2	1	2
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 11

INTENTIONS OF MOVING FROM PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR

Intends to move?	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		SMSA
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Yes	50%	30%	25%	20%	16%	20%	23%
No	50	70	74	79	84	78	76
Don't know			1	1		2	1
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 12

NATURE OF RESIDENTIAL MOVES ANTICIPATED BY DETROIT AREA RESIDENTS FOR THE COMING YEAR, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Residential plans	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		SMSA
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Will stay in present neighborhood	50%	70%	74%	79%	84%	78%	76%
Will move within Detroit area	40	28	20	16	11	15	18
Will move out of Detroit area	10	2	3	5	4	3	4
Don't know			3		1	4	2
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 13

PLACE OF BIRTH, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Place of Birth	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Detroit area	17%	17%	34%	37%	40%	37%	33%
N'east state	2	6	7	8	11	7	8
N'central state	7	7	5	11	11	11	10
Michigan	2	5	8	16	11	18	11
Southern state	59	54	36	11	13	17	24
Western state	2		1	1		1	1
Canada	9	9	8	11	10	7	9
Other foreign		1	2	5	4	2	3
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

C. THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOME FAMILY RELATED VARIABLES

The significance of family patterns for education are many. The following seven tables are offered as illustrations of the extent to which family organization and family related problems differ among the six concentric zones.

1. Marital Status and School-Age Children

Over 2/5 of the adults living in inner city are not married. That proportion increases steadily all the way to zone 6 where 88 per cent of the adults are married. While these trends are revealed in Table 14, this same table reveals the opposite gradient for single and detached persons. The proportion of single persons is 14 per cent in zone 1, a percentage which declines steadily until it reaches a low of 3 per cent in zone 6. Separated, widowed and divorced persons decline from 27 per cent in zone 1 to 9 per cent in zone 6.

Table 15 shows a parallel and related pattern. Over 2/3 of the zone 1 residents have no children enrolled in the public schools, while 1/2 of the zone 6 families have children enrolled in elementary or secondary schools.

In general, it may be noted that there is an outward press of younger, child-rearing couples. Since Negroes are not permitted to move freely to the outer zones (e.g. zones 4, 5, 6), the full impact of the outward tendency of young child-rearing couples may be partially concealed in the preceding tables. Moreover, outward mobility is also associated with the income factor...all things equal, the cost of living in the suburban areas tends to be higher than in the inner areas of the SMSA. One might therefore get a better notion of the extent to which child-rearing couples are attracted to the suburban areas if the factors of race and income could be at least partially controlled. A special analysis of this type has been developed through use of the University of Michigan Department of Sociology's Detroit Area Study data. By combining data from the surveys of five different years (roughly 1953 to 1958), a sufficient number of cases was accrued (3,332) to provide such an analysis. Table 16 shows the strong tendency for the young child-rearers who are "free" to make a choice to move to the suburban setting. Of equal interest is the tendency of the older, non-child-rearing persons to locate in central city. These trends are particularly obvious for married couples with children of pre-school and school age. Only 7 and 11 per cent respectively of these people have settled in inner city. On the other hand, only 3 per cent of single persons 40 years of age and over have settled in the suburban fringe zone. While these data represent a time period previous to the present study, they do suggest that the outgoing desire of the younger, child-rearing couples is probably stronger than the actual settlement pattern we observe.

2. The Distribution of Physical Impairments Among Detroit Area Families

The uneven distribution of characteristics in the metropolitan area population extends to the occurrence of physical handicaps. As Tables 17 through 20 will reveal, the frequency of physical impairments is greater in the inner city zone while inner suburbia appears to be consistently the least effected by these events. Most of these distributions assume the prior pattern of a gradient wherein frequencies of impairment decline from zone 1 to zone 5, but then pick up again slightly at this point. In some cases the variations among the zones are slight, while in other cases the variations are substantial. In all instances, the variations are in the same direction.

Table 17 indicates the proportion of families in which one or more family members are reporting having "Any limitation or trouble with eyesight". Table 18 is the companion table for reported problems with hearing. Table 17 shows that reported visual limitations assume the pattern of a gradient, ranging from the high of 29 per cent in zone 1 to 7 per cent in zones 5 and 6. While auditory limitations do not assume an equally linear pattern, it is notable that 14 per cent of inner city residents report one or more family members with some degree of hearing loss compared with 3 per cent in inner suburbia.

Table 19 reveals that health problems other than those associated with sight, hearing, or locomotion are unevenly distributed, and disproportionately high in zone 1 (17 per cent) and disproportionately low in zone 5 (10 per cent). Table 20 strengthens the trends of the preceding tables by indicating that the occurrence of multiple physical disabilities assumes a gradient pattern from zone 1 to zone 5. Fourteen per cent of the zone 1 families report two or more physical impairments within their household. This rate then declines steadily to zone 5 where only 1 per cent of the families report multiple impairments.

Table 14

MARITAL STATUS, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Marital status	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Married	59%	55%	69%	75%	80%	88%	74%
Single	14	13	10	6	7	3	8
Separated, widowed, divorced	27	32	22	19	13	9	18
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 15

FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN ENROLLED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Children enrolled in:	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
None in School	69%	59%	54%	66%	53%	50%	57%
Elemen'y only	17	15	17	18	20	20	18
Second'y only	7	9	12	9	8	10	8
Both el & sec'y	7	17	17	7	18	20	16
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

TABLE 16

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE ADULTS WHOSE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME TOTALS $5000 OR MORE, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION, AND BY FAMILY LIFE CYCLE STAGE

Family Life Cycle Stages	Inner City	Outer City	Suburban Fringe	Totals	
				Per Cent	Number Cases
Single, and					
under 40 years	25%	50%	25%	100%	141
40 years and over	41	56	3	100	72
Married: no children, and					
under 40 years	20	40	40	100	231
40 years and over	19	49	32	100	783
Married: children, and					
youngest child under 6	7	39	54	100	1073
youngest child 6 to 18	11	44	45	100	687
Widowed, separated, divorced, and					
no children under 18	28	41	31	100	242
children	20	42	38	100	103

Table 17

VISUAL LIMITATIONS, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Yes	29%	14%	10%	8%	7%	7%	10%
No	71	86	90	92	92	92	90
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 18

AUDITORY LIMITATIONS, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Yes	14%	9%	10%	9%	3%	4%	7%
No	86	91	90	91	97	96	93
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 19

FAMILIES WITH HEALTH PROBLEMS "OTHER" THAN THOSE CONNECTED WITH SIGHT, HEARING, OR LOCOMOTION, AND WHICH IMPAIR SCHOOL WORK OR EMPLOYMENT, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

"Other" Health Problems?	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Yes	17%	14%	11%	12%	10%	12%	12%
No	83	85	86	87	89	87	87
Don't know		1	3	1	1	1	1
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 20

NUMBER OF FAMILY MEMBERS WITH ONE OR MORE PHYSICAL DISABILITIES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

Number of Disabilities	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
None	69%	75%	76%	76%	85%	81%	79%
One	17	13	14	16	13	12	14
Two or more	14	10	9	7	1	3	5
Don't know		2	1	1	1	4	2
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

D. COMMUNICATION AND INTERACTION

The voluntary or "formal" association has been found to be a factor of considerable importance in the social and political life of the community. For one thing, persons who belong to voluntary associations also tend to interact more frequently with friends, neighbors, and co-workers as well. In short, some people tend to become quite isolated or "anomic" in their patterns of association, while others tend to join into activities with others much more frequently. In the following tables it is interesting to note that membership and activity in voluntary associations assumes a distributive pattern much like that for most of the previous variables... the incidence of membership and activity increases from zone 1 to zone 5, at which point it declines slightly. However, such is not the case with interaction patterns of an informal sort, that is, with friends, neighbors, relatives, and co-workers. Here the variations among zones do not tend to follow a clear gradient pattern.

1. Distributions of membership and activity in voluntary associations.

Table 21 shows that only 1/3 of the inner city residents belong to voluntary associations (of a non-church and non-union type). Over half of the inner suburban residents do belong to such organizations. Moreover, membership frequencies increase with increasing distance from city center to zone 5—and, much of this increase is due to memberships in more than one formal association.

Table 22 shows a related pattern for attendance at association meetings. Frequency of attendance increases from zones 1 through zone 6. Moreover, where 1/4 of the inner city residents attend one or more meetings per month, 2/5 of the outer suburban residents are doing likewise.

These tables are of additional interest if one recalls that many students of the city have come to feel that with the deconcentration of urban population, the higher income, better educated types of people tend to migrate to the city where their activity level declines, and they are then assumed to pay less attention to the affairs of society. These tables do not tend to support such contentions.

2. Frequency of Contact with Relatives, Neighbors, Co-Workers, and Friends.

An earlier school of thought in sociology assumed that migration to urban areas meant a decline in primary-group contacts, especially along kinship lines. This notion has since been dispelled, and the following data support previous findings which reveal a high degree of kinship contact in the metropolitan area, along with a relatively high incidence of interaction with friends, neighbors, and co-workers. As previously mentioned, these distribtuions differ from those of voluntary association membership.... The informal interaction distributions do not show a gradient pattern, and these activities tend to be more randomly distributed.

a. Frequency of contact with relatives. Table 23 indicates that a solid majority of Detroit SMSA residents (62 per cent) have all or most of their relatives living in the area. This is true for only 45 per cent of zone 1 residents, however. In contrast to zone 1, 75 per cent of zone 3 families have all or most of the relatives living in the Detroit area.

Table 24 shows that frequency of contact with relatives is greatest for zone 4 residents....47 per cent see relatives once a week or more. Forty per cent of zone 1 residents report a similar frequency of contacts. While it is clear that zone 3, 4, or 6 residents all have more frequent contacts with relatives than do residents of the inner city zones, it should be noted that these differences are not great. Residents in each of the six zones have frequent contacts with relatives.

b. Frequency of contact with neighbors. Slightly more than half of the Detroit SMSA residents seldom or never indulge sociable contacts with their neighbors. The greatest frequency of contact with neighbors occurs for the inner suburban zone, and the least frequency of neighbor contacts are made by residents of zones 3, 4, and 6. However, it should again be noted that the differences among the zones are not large.

c. Frequency of contact with co-workers. Table 26 reveals that over 3/5 of the Detroit area residents seldom or never have social contacts with their co-workers. However, inner city residents are most likely to interact socially with co-workers, while zone 3 people are least likely to do so.

d. Frequency of contact with friends, other than neighbors or co-workers. Table 27 again reveals a situation of relatively small variance among the six zones with respect to informal contacts with friends. Two-fifths of zone 1 residents say they seldom or never have contacts with friends other than neighbors or co-workers, compared with 1/4 of zone 5 residents. Contacts with friends at the rate of once a week or more often are quite equivalent among the six zones. However, contacts at the rate of one to 3 times per month range from a high of 47 per cent for inner suburbanites, to 33 per cent for inner city residents.

In the preceding tables it might be noted that with respect to the informal variety of social contacts, kinship ranks first in frequency of contacts for all residence zones. Neighbor type contacts rank second for zones 1, 4, and 6, while friends other than neighbors or co-workers rank as second in frequency to kinship in zones 2, 3, and 6.

3. Communication and School Literature

Previous research has shown that people who are active in voluntary associations tend to be more prone to read local newspapers and pay more attention to direct mail or read school literature conveyed by other means. Since it is important to maintain a communication linkeage between the schools and the public, a question was asked of respondents concerning receipt of literature from the schools (by direct mail or otherwise), and their impressions of it.

Tables 28 and 29 reveal an interesting reversal within the central city zones. Table 28 shows that recollection of having received literature from the schools increases from a low of 21 per cent in zone 1 to a high of 32 per cent in zone 4. However, among those who recall having received literature from the schools, Table 29 shows a decreasing approval of this literature from zone 1 through zone 4.

In contrast with the central city situation, 62 per cent of zone 5 residents and 51 per cent of zone 6 residents recall receiving literature from the schools, and an equivalent proportion of those who recalled getting such literature approved of its content.

Table 21

MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Belongs to none	67%	64%	50%	51%	44%	47%	51%
Belongs to one only	14	21	30	23	24	30	24
Belongs to two	12	11	10	11	17	16	14
Belongs to three or more	7	4	10	15	15	7	11
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 22

ATTENDANCE AT VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEETINGS, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Belongs to none	67%	64%	50%	51%	44%	47%	51%
Belongs: never attends	2	3	6	4	3	2	3
Attends less 1 per month	7	8	13	10	17	10	13
Attends 1 or more per month	25	25	31	34	36	41	33
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 23

RELATIVES LIVING IN DETROIT AREA, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
All or most	45%	54%	75%	63%	62%	64%	62%
Only a few	43	35	21	27	26	25	28
None	12	11	4	10	12	11	10
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 24

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH RELATIVES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Once per week or more	40%	43%	41%	47%	41%	41%	42%
1-3 times per month	26	28	41	27	33	39	32
Seldom or never	34	29	18	26	26	20	26
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 25

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH NEIGHBORS, BY DISTANCE ZONE

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Once per week or more often	30%	29%	21%	28%	34%	29%	30%
One to 3 times per month	17	16	20	12	18	11	16
Seldom or never	53	53	59	60	48	60	54
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 26

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH CO-WORKERS, BY DISTANCE ZONE

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Once per week or more	23%	28%	15%	16%	15%	24%	19%
One to 3 times per month	26	19	13	21	17	12	18
Seldom or never	51	53	72	63	68	64	63
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 27

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH FRIENDS WHO ARE NOT NEIGHBORS OR CO-WORKERS, BY DISTANCE ZONE

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Once per week or more	28%	34%	30%	27%	27%	30%	30%
One to 3 times per month	33	34	33	42	47	38	41
Seldom or never	39	32	37	31	26	32	29
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 28

RECOLLECTION OF HAVING RECEIVED LITERATURE FROM THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING THE PAST YEAR, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Received	21%	25%	30%	32%	62%	51%	43%
Didn't Receive	79	75	70	68	38	49	57
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	931

Table 29

IMPRESSIONS OF SCHOOL LITERATURE, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION. (FOR THOSE WHO RECALL RECEIVING LITERATURE DURING THE PAST YEAR)

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Approved	63%	62%	57%	49%	62%	64%	60%
Ambivalent: or no reaction	37	33	36	41	30	29	33
Disapproved		5	7	10	8	7	7
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	8	21	28	49	175	43	324

SUMMARY

This chapter has demonstrated the extent to which the selective outward movement and settlement of population in the Detroit SMSA has produced variations in the population base which are reflected in the six concentric distance zones.

Each of the six zones has unique attributes. Of greatest significance is the fact that the predominant pattern among these zones is one of a gradient, in which rates increase (or decrease) from zone 1 to zone 5, at which point a slight decline (or increase) occurs with progression to zone 6. It would appear to be a reasonable hypothesis that if the boundaries of the study had been extended still further into the hinterland, one would find these distributions assuming a full-blown curvilinear pattern. For instance, we might find that income levels, or levels of educational attainment, and other rates would continue to decline and more closely approximate inner city levels as greater areas of rural territory became incorporated into the analysis.

Many of the social characteristics spread in these analyses harbor some potential or suggestive connotation for educational programs and curricula. Most of the variables are of significance for school support. The uneven distribution of these variables should make it quite clear that the character of the community-school relationship is different in each of these zones. Zonally, the following patterns might be summated:

> Zones 1 and 2 are relatively similar in many respects and it is reasonable to refer to an inner city zone.
>
> Zone 3 in many respects is transitional. This is particularly true racially...it is true in many other respects as well. While we might lump zones 3 and 4 together and refer to an "outer city" zone (as is done in some later analyses), this operation is not wholly satisfactory and will tend to conceal certain differences.

Zone 4 is perhaps the most "atypical" among the four central city zones. It is older, higher in socio-economic status characteristics, the least integrated. In many respects it is more similar to inner suburbia than it is to the rest of central city. In many other respects it is dissimilar to inner suburbia.

Zone 5, the inner suburban zone, represents the tightly packed population ring immediately surrounding the Detroit corporate limits. It is notable for its suburban maturity....it is older as an urbanized region than zone 6, it is more differentiated...the present "high water mark" of the SMSA in total socio-economic characteristics. Zones 5 and 6 are different from one another.

What does all this mean? The main conclusion which we might draw at this point is that if we are to think about the community-school relationship and indulge school planning of various sorts, it would appear advisable to take into account the significance of these patterns. While we are all aware of the vague outlines of these patterns, their exact measurement and their precise relationship to matters of school administration and planning would appear important. For instance, will the zone 5 population continue to age, or will it come to be populated with relatively similar "replacements"? If it continues to age, will it come to appear more like zone 4? If it does, what will this mean for educational programs and educational support for the many school districts in this area during the coming years?

Above all, it does not appear to make good sense to continue with the stereotyped notion that there is THE central city school on the one hand, and THE suburban school on the other hand.

Our next task is to analyze the meaning and significance of these distributive patterns for school support levels.

CHAPTER III

SCHOOL SUPPORT AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The previous chapter has shown a patterned tendency for persons with select social characteristics to migrate outwardly in the Detroit SMSA. If we are to consider the educational significance of such migratory processes for school support, it should be recalled that the geographic domain of the Detroit Public School System consists of the first four concentric zones, while zones 5 and 6 represent a suburban area which is served by no less than 93 separate school districts. We therefore have two kinds of questions to answer: What is the significance of these selective migration patterns for the central city school system, and what is their significance for the many school districts in the suburban area?

The first analysis of the chapter concerns the extent to which various population characteristics are associated with attitudinal support for the schools. To what extent are variables such as income, length of residence, age, and child enrollment, associated with citizen willingness to provide millage support for education? More specifically, to what extent do these relationships hold true for the different zonal areas? Do home owners in the suburbs respond to millage proposals in much the same manner as home owners in central city? Or, does the school support level decline with educational level in the central city area to the same extent as it does in the suburbs? In brief, it is important to gain some added insights into the meaning of population deconcentration. Has it meant that the drain of higher income, child rearing people from the central city means a loss in the support level of the central city schools? If so, does this mean that the suburban school districts benefit by such movement?

A second kind of analysis is to determine the extent to which these same unevenly distributed population characteristics are associated with tendency to register and to vote in school millage elections. Previous research[1] has shown that those characteristics which are associated with high attitudinal support for the schools may also be the very same characteristics which are associated with a lowered tendency to vote in school elections. For instance, renters, or people who have recently moved to the community tend to be attitudinally supportive, but do not tend to vote. This consideration is of great importance, since it is quite possible that owing to just the right combination of population characteristics, a community could have a citizenry that is attitudinally supportive, yet would lose every millage issue because the supportive segment of the population possesses the "supportive, non-voting syndrome". It is also important to stress that it is of little use to apply value judgments to "such people", since we are herein dealing with natural and lawful processes. Renters, newcomers to the community, people of low educational achievement are quite understandably less inclined to vote than are their opposites. Yet the welfare of locally supported public schools rides on just such factors.

The Indexes of School Support

The measurement of "latent" or attitudinal support for the schools is central to many of the analyses which follow. A method of operationalizing a generalized support index which was successfully employed in a previous study is adapted in the present study.[2] During the interview, respondents were asked two hypothetical questions:

> Q. 4 "Suppose you were asked to vote tomorrow to approve or to disapprove of increasing local taxes in order to meet building needs of the public schools. Would you probably vote:
>
> Yes   No   Don't know

---

1. i.e., see Chapter 1, pp. 5-6.
2. R. V. Smith, et. al. "Community Interaction and Support of the Schools". U. S. Office of Education, Cooperative Research Project No. 1828.

Q. 5 "Aside from building costs—suppose you were to vote tomorrow to approve or to disapprove of increasing local taxes in order to meet operating costs of the public schools. Would you probably vote:

/Yes/ /No/ /Don't know/

Those respondents who said they would vote "yes" on both proposals, or those who would vote "yes" on one and "don't know" on the other were classified "supportive". Those who said they would vote "no" on both, or would vote "no" on one and "don't know" on the other were labelled "rejective". Those who voted "yes" on one, and "no" on the other...or those who responded with "don't know" on both were classified as ambivalent.

The attitudinal support index is not intended as a prognosticator of given millage elections. It is intended merely to provide a generalized tendency of the citizenry to respond favorably or unfavorably to the idea of millage proposals. Quite obviously if one wishes to predict a specific millage election, a better procedure would be to make specific reference to the actual event at hand, be it operational or be it bonding for buildings, and then control for the factor of voting tendencies of the population.

The index of voting tendency employed in this analysis is a subjective measure, based upon the respondent's own recollection of voting in the past millage election. Since the previous school election was held a short time (e.g., two months) prior to the field phase of the study, it was felt that the respondents would be able to recall with some accuracy whether they had or had not voted. From all appearances,there was a tendency to over-report voting. The amount of over-reporting is a bit difficult to judge, however, owing to several factors. First, on the school millage election there was a high percentage of blank votes. That is, a good many people voted on other issues, but failed to vote on the school millage proposal. This tendency was particularly pronounced in the inner city area. Secondly, every voter registration list contains a rather high proportion of "dead wood". Many registrants move out of the city, or die, and their names still remain on the registered voter list. In the November election 357,137 people voted. If the people who say they voted had done so, the actual tally would have been 422,791.

In view of these facts, it is important to note that the index of voting tendency is not used as a reflection of the true population that voted. It is an approximation of that population—with some degree of error. The importance of this measure lies in its value for providing relational analyses. It is quite probable that most of the people who say they didn't vote, probably did not. Therefore, if we find that this population differs from those who say they voted, that difference could be meaningful. Moreover, when we isolated differences between the reporting non-voters and the reported voters, these differences were checked against findings from a previous study in which the act of voting was positively checked out with voter registration files.[3] The direction and nature of these relationships proved to be similar in the two studies.

---

[3] Ibid.

I. ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT, SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, AND AREA OF RESIDENCE.

A. FAMILY LIFE CYCLE CHARACTERISTICS

Table 30 indicates that age depresses attitudinal support for both central city and the suburban areas, but only after age 45. From this age, support levels decline considerably. The significance of this fact mounts when one compares the age differential between central city and the suburban areas. Where 50 per cent of central city's population is under 45 years of age, 61 per cent of the suburban population is under 45.

Table 31 reveals a tendency for men to be more supportive toward education than women. This relationship holds true for both central city and the suburbs, but it is a bit more pronounced in central city than it is in the suburban area.

In the Detroit SMSA single persons are more supportive of education than are married persons as a group, while people who are separated, widowed, or divorced are the least supportive of these three categories. Table 32 again shows an "advantage" for the suburbs in this distribution, since 66 per cent of the inner city residents are married, compared with 82 per cent for the suburbs. Also, 24 per cent of the central city residents are separated, widowed, or divorced, while only 11 per cent of the suburban dwellers fall into this category. However, a higher percentage of the central city population is single.

Table 33 clarifies further the distributions of the previous table by presenting relationships between support and the factor of child-involvement in the public schools. In general, people who have children enrolled in the schools are more supportive than those with no children enrolled.

Moreover, the degree of child enrollment increases the support tendency, since people with children enrolled in both elementary and secondary levels are the most supportive category for the SMSA. However, it is interesting to note that within the central city area, support levels are higher for elementary parents than for secondary parents, while the reverse relationship holds for the suburban zone.

To further pursue the factor of child-involvement in the public schools, it is of interest to note that people with children enrolled in non-public schools behave quite similarly to persons with no children enrolled. Table 34 presents these relationships. Table 35 then reveals that protestant affiliators are more supportive of the public schools than are catholic affiliators, but while this relationship holds true for the central city area it does not hold true for the suburban area. Suburban Catholic affiliators are as supportive of public education as are protestant affiliators.

TABLE 30

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT AND AGE, BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

Attitudinal support and age	Area of Residence		
	Central City	Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
Age 21 to 34			
Supportive	67%	66%	66%
Ambivalent	19	16	17
Rejective	14	18	17
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	123	136	259
Age 35 to 44			
Supportive	63%	69%	67%
Ambivalent	22	11	16
Rejective	15	20	17
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	103	137	240
Age 45 to 64			
Supportive	48%	53%	50%
Ambivalent	21	17	19
Rejective	31	30	30
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	172	131	303
65 and over			
Supportive	45%	29%	38%
Ambivalent	18	17	18
Rejective	37	54	43
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	55	41	96

TABLE 31

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT AND SEX, BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

Sex and Support Level	Residence Location		Totals: SMSA
	Central City	Suburbs	
Males			
Supportive	62%	63%	62%
Ambivalent	15	15	15
Rejective	23	22	23
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	200	206	406
Females			
Supportive	52%	57%	54%
Ambivalent	24	15	20
Rejective	24	28	26
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	253	239	492

TABLE 32

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT, BY MARITAL STATUS, AND BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

Marital status and support level	Area of Residence: Central City	Area of Residence: Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
Married			
Supportive	56%	63%	60%
Ambivalent	18	13	15
Rejective	26	24	25
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	299	356	655
Single			
Supportive	60%	71%	64%
Ambivalent	27	11	21
Rejective	13	18	15
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	45	28	73
Separated, widowed, or divorced			
Supportive	56%	41%	51%
Ambivalent	23	14	20
Rejective	21	45	29
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	108	51	159

TABLE 33

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT AND CHILD ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

Children in public schools, and level of support	Area of Residence		Totals: SMSA
	Central City	Suburbs	
No children of school age			
Supportive	51%	51%	51%
Ambivalent	22	17	20
Rejective	27	32	30
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	279	232	511
Elementary only			
Supportive	74%	63%	68%
Ambivalent	10	17	14
Rejective	16	20	18
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	76	90	166
Secondary only			
Supportive	50%	67%	58%
Ambivalent	24	6	15
Rejective	26	27	27
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	42	36	78
Both Elementary and secondary			
Supportive	69%	75%	73%
Ambivalent	21	10	14
Rejective	10	15	13
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	52	80	132

TABLE 34

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT, BY CHILD ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC AND NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE DETROIT SMSA

Support level	No children in school	Children in non-public schools	Children in public schools
Supportive	51%	55%	71%
Ambivalent	20	7	13
Rejective	29	28	16
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	534	76	296

TABLE 35

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

Religious affiliation and support	Area of Residence: Central City	Area of Residence: Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
Protestant			
Supportive	62%	60%	61%
Ambivalent	18	17	18
Rejective	20	23	21
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	274	274	548
Catholic			
Supportive	44%	59%	51%
Ambivalent	22	11	16
Rejective	34	30	33
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	158	135	293
Other			
Supportive	45%	66%	56%
Ambivalent	29	11	20
Rejective	26	23	24
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	31	35	66

B. HOME OWNERSHIP STATUS OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME SATISFACTION

Table 36 shows that people who rent, or who are purchasing their homes tend to be more supportive of education than are home owners. Moreover, it should be noted that in both central city and the suburbs, this relationship is strong. When we check on the proportion of home owners and purchasers in these two areas of the SMSA, it is found that where 43 per cent of the central city residents are renters, only 12 per cent of the suburban residents are similarly classified. In this distribution, the attitudinal advantage strongly favors central city.

Approximately 1/4 of the people in the Detroit SMSA rank their income as "above average", while half say their income is "average" (Table 5, p. 35). Moreover, income satisfaction increases outwardly from zone 1 to zone 5. Table 37 shows that attitudinal support levels rise with increased ranking of income. Two thirds of those who rank their income as above average are supportive of education, compared with half for those who say their income is below average. Again, this relationship is favorable to the suburban area.

Table 38 provides an interesting variation in that people whose job outlook is good are more supportive than those who feel their job outlook is very good. However, a fair or a poor job outlook is a definite depressant for educational support.

TABLE 36

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT AND HOME OWNERSHIP, BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

Home ownership status and support	Area of Residence: Central City	Area of Residence: Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
Owns			
Supportive	37%	46%	42%
Ambivalent	19	14	16
Rejective	44	40	42
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	124	147	271
Buying			
Supportive	61%	65%	64%
Ambivalent	22	16	18
Rejective	17	19	18
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	119	220	339
Renting			
Supportive	65%	69%	66%
Ambivalent	19	18	19
Rejective	16	13	15
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	184	51	235

TABLE 37

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT AND SELF-RANKING OF INCOME, BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

Self-ranking on income, and support level	Area of Residence: Central City	Area of Residence: Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
Above average			
Supportive	65%	66%	65%
Ambivalent	18	14	16
Rejective	17	20	19
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	88	153	241
Average			
Supportive	56%	59%	58%
Ambivalent	22	16	19
Rejective	22	25	23
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	225	222	447
Below average			
Supportive	51%	48%	50%
Ambivalent	18	17	18
Rejective	31	35	32
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	116	54	170

TABLE 38

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT, BY JOB OUTLOOK, BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

Job outlook and support level	Area of Residence: Central City	Area of Residence: Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
Very good			
Supportive	53%	60%	57%
Ambivalent	23	19	21
Rejective	24	21	22
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	62	67	129
Good			
Supportive	75%	67%	71%
Ambivalent	11	17	14
Rejective	14	16	15
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	64	55	119
Fair to poor			
Supportive	51%	44%	49%
Ambivalent	16	22	18
Rejective	33	34	33
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	105	41	146

C. RESIDENTIAL EXPERIENCE

Residential mobility bears a definite relationship to educational support. The greater the length of residence in the Detroit SMSA, the greater the tendency to be rejective toward millage proposals. Table 39 shows that support levels decline from 66 per cent among citizens who have lived in the area less than three years, to 50 per cent for those who have lived in the area 8 years or more. Fifty-four per cent of the central city residents have lived in the area less than three years and only 19 per cent have resided in the area for 8 years or more. The comparable percentages for the suburban residents are 30 per cent and 45 per cent respectively. Therefore, it could be conclued that the mobility factor is to the definite advantage of the central city area, insofar as attitudinal support is concerned.

Table 40 has been included primarily to clear up the myth that the heavy influx of migrants from the rural south tends to depress school support levels in the urban area. As may be noted, support levels are highest for this group. Moreover, Chapter V will divulge that the Negro residents clustered in the inner city area are highly supportive of education.

Table 41 reveals that farm background makes no difference in the support level in the Detroit SMSA. However, it does matter in the outer city area of Detroit where it may be observed that people of farm background are less supportive than are persons with no rural experience.

TABLE 39

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE, BY AREA

Length of residence and support level	Area of Residence		Totals: SMSA
	Central City	Suburbs	
0 to 3 years			
Supportive	67%	65%	66%
Ambivalent	18	17	17
Rejective	15	18	17
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	173	132	305
4 to 7 years			
Supportive	56%	60%	58%
Ambivalent	21	14	17
Rejective	23	26	25
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	85	108	193
8 years or more			
Supportive	46%	53%	50%
Ambivalent	22	15	18
Rejective	32	32	32
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	194	193	387

TABLE 40

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT LEVEL, BY PLACE OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

Support level	Native Detroit	North East	North Central	Other Mich	South	Foreign
		Area of Previous Residence				
Ambivalent	58%	55%	62%	61%	63%	45%
Supportive	17	20	21	20	15	17
Rejective	25	25	17	19	22	38
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	358	75	87	107	203	102

TABLE 41

SUPPORT LEVEL, BY FARM BACKGROUND, BY FOUR CONCENTRIC ZONES

Farm Background	Central City Zones		Suburban Zones		Totals: SMSA
	Inner City	Outer City	Inner Suburbia	Outer Suburbia	
Yes					
Supportive	69%	43%	58%	62%	57%
Ambivalent	12	23	15	15	17
Rejective	19	34	27	23	26
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	83	82	92	53	310
No					
Supportive	65%	53%	59%	62%	58%
Ambivalent	18	23	17	8	18
Rejective	17	24	24	30	24
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	99	188	239	61	587

The preceding analysis has shown that the pattern of uneven distribution of social characteristics in the Detroit SMSA is such that advantage to the suburban area accrues in the distribution of some characteristics, while advantage accrues for the central city area with respect to other distributions. For instance, the social characteristics of age, marital status, child involvement, and income and occupational outlook are so distributed as to heighten attitudinal support levels in the suburban area. On the other hand, the concentration of renters in central city, together with a higher proportion of more recent movers to the area are factors which tend to increase the attitudinal support levels of the central city area. What, then, are the resultant effects of these and other distributions? Since the deconcentration phenomenon has drained from the central city area people of supportive characteristics, has the presence in central city of higher proportions of renters and more mobile persons adequately compensated for the losses to the suburbs of child-rearers and persons with better economic and job outlook?

TABLE 42

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT LEVELS, BY AREAS OF RESIDENCE

Attitudinal support level	Concentric Zones						Totals:		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Central City	Suburbs	SMSA
Supportive	69%	66%	60%	43%	59%	62%	56%	60%	58%
Ambivalent	12	16	17	28	16	11	21	15	18
Rejective	19	18	23	29	25	27	23	25	24
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	453	445	898

Table 42 (preceding page) indicates that there is little difference in the support level between central city and the suburbs. Where 60 per cent of the suburbanites are favorably disposed to school millage proposals, 56 per cent of central city residents are similarly inclined. What is most striking about this table is the fact that school support levels for the central city area decline sharply from zone 1 to zone 4. This raises a very important question for the central city school district. If the inner city residents should tend to vote in greater proportions than the outer city residents, then the city schools should receive strong support for millage issues. But if the outer city people should vote in greater numbers than the inner city residents, then millage proposals would be in trouble. The question therefore arises concerning the social characteristics of voters and non-voters.

Before an analysis of that topic is undertaken, one more consideration should be discussed. The previous observations about support levels have all been based upon references to the "supportive" category of the support index. No effort has been made to cope with the "ambivalent" category. There are several reasons for this. Previous experience and testing of this index has revealed that many people are very reluctant to concede that they would not vote in favor of a millage proposal. Therefore, when this index is checked with actual voting records it has been found that the proportion of people who vote supportively tends to correlate rather well with that proportion of people who fall only into the "supportive" category of the index. In a study of a Detroit suburb this index was used together with a specific question about voting intent on a forthcoming operational proposal. Both the specific question, and the support index provided measures which were within a percentage point of the election returns. In the present study, an election was held after the field phase and the citizens of Detroit provided a plurality of 54 per cent for the proposal. This is rather close to the 56 per cent in our sample who were classified as "supportive".

Therefore, while it must be made abundantly clear that the support index is not intended as a scientific prognosticator of specific millage elections, it does appear to be an adequate, albeit a rather strict measure of latent support. The community potential which it measures will be realized to varying degrees depending upon what particular factors operate to determine what kinds of people actually vote on election day.

II VOTING TENDENCY, SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, AND AREA OF RESIDENCE

The preceding discussion has indicated the importance of social characteristics and voting tendency. To what extent are certain social characteristics that are unevenly distributed between the central city and the suburbs associated with tendency to vote. The following four tables represent social characteristics with a strong relationship to voting tendency.

Table 43 indicates a strong and linear relationship between length of residence in the community and tendency to vote. For the SMSA only 40 per cent of those persons who have resided in the area one year or less report voting in the last millage election. For those who have resided in the area eight years or more, 69 per cent report voting in the last election. Moreover, these same relationships hold true for both central city and for the suburbs. It may therefore be concluded that since the central city area has a higher proportion of newer residents, this factor will diminish the voter turnout. However, it must be noted that over half of zone 4 residents have lived in the area 8 years or more, whereas 31 per cent of zone 1 residents report a similar length of residence (See Table 38, p. 9). Therefore, within the central city area, this factor would tend to increase voting tendency in zone 4 where support levels are lowest.

Table 44 shows a strong relationship between tendency to vote and child enrollment in the public schools. Again this relationship holds true for both the central city and the suburban areas. It might also be observed that where slightly over half of the suburban residents have children enrolled in the public schools, over 2/3 of the central city residents have children enrolled in school (See Table 15, p. 43).

Home ownership (or purchasing a home) is associated with a tendency to vote. Table 45 shows that in the SMSA 2/3 of those people who own or are purchasing homes report voting in the last election while 2/5 of the renting group report voting. Again it may be observed that while a very low proportion of inner city residents (14 per cent) own their own homes, a high proportion (over 4/5) of outer city and suburban area residents are home owners or purchasers (see Table 4, p. 34). It might therefore be concluded that the uneven distribution of home ownership favors voting tendency in the suburban area and in the outer city area of central city.

Table 46 shows a strong linear relationship between voting tendency and degree of involvement in voluntary associations. Among non-members in the Detroit SMSA 46 per cent report voting. This frequency increases with the number of memberships held with the result that 74 per cent of the people who belong to three or more voluntary associations report voting in the last millage election. These relationships also hold true for both the central city and the suburban areas. The significance of this relationship may be better grasped by reference to Table 21, p. 50 where it may be seen that membership in voluntary associations increases with increasing distance from city center up to zone 5. Where over 2/3 of inner city residents are non-members, only half of outer city residents are non-members. This uneven distribution of membership in voluntary associations tends to favor voting tendency in the outer city and suburban areas.

At this point it may be observed that all of the previous tables have shown tendencies which favor the inclination to vote in the suburban zone and in the outer city area of central city. Table 47 is of a different order in that it indicates that the voting tendency of Negroes, (who are attitudinally more supportive than whites) is considerably stronger than the voting tendency of whites in the inner city area. However, the voting tendency of outer city whites is slightly stronger than that of outer city Negroes.

Table 48 presents a summary of the voting tendency by zone and for the central city and suburbs. The table is noteworthy in that it shows central city residents reporting a tendency to vote more frequently in millage elections than suburban residents. Moreover, it also shows inner city residents tending to vote less frequently than outer city residents. Both of these facts are of considerable importance in the school millage vote in central city and will be discussed in the summary section of this chapter.

TABLE 43

VOTING TENDENCY AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE DETROIT AREA, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENT

Length of residence and voted in last election	Area of Residence		
	Central City	Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
1 year or less			
Voted	45%	34%	40%
Didn't vote	55	66	60
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	110	104	214
2-3 years			
Voted	56%	41%	49%
Didn't vote	44	59	51
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	64	56	120
4-5 years			
Voted	63%	47%	55%
Didn't vote	37	53	45
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	59	53	112
6-7 years			
Voted	43%	63%	57%
Didn't vote	57	37	43
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	23	56	79
8 years or more			
Voted	73%	64%	69%
Didn't vote	27	36	31
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	189	190	379

TABLE 44

VOTING TENDENCY AND CHILD ENROLLMENT IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE

Child enrollment and voted in last election	Area of Residence: Central City	Area of Residence: Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
No children in school			
Voted	55%	43%	49%
Didn't vote	45	57	51
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	275	246	521
Elementary only			
Voted	65%	49%	56%
Didn't vote	35	51	44
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	74	91	165
Secondary only			
Voted	66%	70%	68%
Didn't vote	34	30	32
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	47	43	90
Both elementary and secondary			
Voted	81%	72%	75%
Didn't vote	19	28	25
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	47	75	122

TABLE 45

VOTING TENDENCY AND HOME OWNERSHIP, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE

Home ownership and voted in last election	Area of Residence		
	Central City	Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
Owns			
Voted	75%	59%	60%
Didn't vote	25	41	34
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	124	150	274
Buying			
Voted	74%	58%	63%
Didn't vote	26	42	37
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	119	220	339
Renting			
Voted	45%	31%	41%
Didn't vote	55	69	59
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	180	64	224

TABLE 46

VOTING TENDENCY AND MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE

Membership and voted in last election	Area of Residence		
	Central City	Suburbs	Totals: SMSA
Belongs to none			
Voted	51%	41%	46%
Didn't vote	49	59	54
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	251	209	460
Belongs to one			
Voted	66%	55%	60%
Didn't vote	34	45	40
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	102	112	214
Belongs to two			
Voted	80%	67%	72%
Didn't vote	20	33	28
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	49	76	125
Belongs 3 or more			
Voted	86%	65%	74%
Didn't vote	14	35	26
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	43	63	106

TABLE 47

VOTING TENDENCY BY RACE, AND BY AREA OF RESIDENCE

Race and voted in last school election	Area of Residence: Inner City	Area of Residence: Outer City	Totals: Detroit City
White			
Voted	41%	65%	59%
Didn't vote	59	35	41
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	70	211	281
Negro			
Voted	66%	58%	63%
Didn't vote	34	42	37
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	108	59	167

TABLE 48

REPORTED VOTING TENDENCY, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE

Voted in last millage election	Concentric zones 1	2	3	4	5	6	Central City	Suburbs	SMSA
Voted	48%	56%	64%	63%	50%	52%	60%	51%	55%
Didn't vote	52	44	36	37	50	48	40	49	45
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	453	445	898

SUMMARY

The general purpose of this chapter has been to examine some of the implications of population deconcentration in the Detroit SMSA for educational support and voting tendencies in both the central city and suburban areas. Perhaps the most general conclusion which one might draw from the preceding data is that neither the central city nor the suburban schools seem to have gained appreciably in attitudinal support from the large scale migration and differential settlement of the past years.

A. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SUBURBAN SCHOOLS

The net effects of differential settlement are such that the suburban area now possess a higher proportion than central city of some types of people whose characteristics are associated with attitudinal support for the schools. Specifically, younger adults, married persons, families with children enrolled in the public schools, and people who judge their income and job outlook as good. On the other hand, the central city area has retained a population that is relatively high in certain other characteristics which are associated with school support. Specifically, renters, more recent migrants to the Detroit area, and Negroes.

As we examine these and other differences in population composition between the central city and suburban areas, it is interesting to see that the suburban population does not vary significantly from the central city population in the factor of attitudinal support. Table 49 (page 89) shows that 60 per cent of the suburbanites are supportive of the schools, compared with 56 per cent for the central city people. In view of the influx into the suburbs of highly supportive characteristics, this difference between the two areas is not as great as one might anticipate. One explanation for a lack of a significant difference in the support levels of the central city and the suburbs could be the presence of Negroes in the central city population. An examination of this factor proves this assumption to be most valid. If the central city population was entirely white, the support would drop to 48 per cent.[4] We might then observe that the present 60 per cent support level of the white suburbs is significantly higher than the white support level in central city.

A MORE ACCURATE APPRAISAL OF THE IMPACT OF DECONCENTRATION UPON THE DETROIT SMSA WOULD BE THAT SINCE SELECTIVE MIGRATION TO THE SUBURBAN ZONES HAS OCCURRED ALMOST ENTIRELY ALONG RACIAL LINES, THE NET EFFECT HAS BEEN ONE OF DRAINING WHITE SUPPORT FROM THE CENTRAL CITY AREA, BUT LEAVING A SIGNIFICANT BLOC OF BLACK SUPPORT FOR THE SCHOOLS IN THE INNER CITY REGION OF DETROIT. In brief, the selective migration of the younger child-rearing population to the suburban areas has been significant with respect to the variable of school support, but within the confines of race.

A second factor of significance for the suburban schools lies in the fact that the voting inclination among suburbanites is lower than it is among central city residents. Moreover, an examination of the differential distributions of social characteristics associated with voting in school elections does not provide an adequate answer to this difference. Where 60 per cent of the Detroit residents report voting in the last election, 51 per cent of the suburbanites report voting. In this instance, the difference cannot be explained on the basis of the Negro population in inner city Detroit. The differences in voting tendency between central city Negroes and whites is not as great as are their differences in support levels (see Table 48). Sixty-three per cent of the central city Negroes report voting, compared with 59 per cent of the whites.

---

[4] Chapter V presents and examines this and related facts in greater detail.

At this juncture we can only speculate as to the reasons why the voting tendency in school elections is greater for central city than it is for the suburbs. It might be recalled that many urban scholars have long felt that the suburban movement has been associated with a decline in community and political activity on the part of suburbanites. While this assumption is lacking in the full validation which most social scientists would like to see, the present findings might be fitted to this frame of reference.

Another possible supposition would be that the suburban area is simply another pattern and form from that of the central city. Factors such as population density, degree of specialization, and distance enter into human relationships and behaviors in many ways. Moreover, where the school election in central city represents the concerted efforts on the part of one large organization with one campaign, the suburban area takes in 93 separate school districts and 93 varying campaigns to solicit voting support from the public. The extent to which these and other factors enter into differences in reported voting frequencies between the central city and suburban residents is simply not known at this point.

B. SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CENTRAL CITY SCHOOLS: THE "SNV SYNDROME"

One of the more important findings to emerge from this analysis is summarized in Table 49. Here it may be seen that within the central city area support levels decline from a high of 69 per cent in zone 1, to a low of 43 per cent in zone 4. In an opposite gradient, the tendency to vote rises from a low of 48 per cent in zone 1, to a high of 63 per cent in zone 4. Many of the reasons for the reversal of the support and voting gradients are contained in the preceding tables. The important consideration is that the particular settlement pattern of the City of Detroit (which is much like that of most other large cities) is of such a nature that it is quite possible for a millage proposal to fail at the polls while a majority of

TABLE 49

WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT SCHOOL MILLAGE PROPOSALS AND STATED VOTING ACTIVITY IN LAST SCHOOL ELECTION, BY CONCENTRIC ZONE

	Zones in Central City				Suburban Zones		Detroit City	Sub-urban	SMSA
	1	2	3	4	5	6			
Percent who are attitudinally supportive	69	66	60	43	59	62	56	60	58
Percent who report voting in last school election	48	56	64	63	50	52	60	51	55

the citizens are favorably inclined to school millage. It is important to recognize that this situation is an outgrowth of the ecological circumstances of the community. It can occur in any community.

The problem of the central city schools, then, boils down to the fact that while large proportions of supportive type whites have moved to the suburbs and drained off some school support, this population has been replaced by supportive blacks. Moreover, the perennial struggle at the polls occurs between the more supportive inner city residents and the more rejective outer city residents. While the over all support level is sufficiently high, what is most detrimental to Detroit millage is the "Supportive Non-Voting" segment of the population. In every community there is a group of people who are so characterized. These are people whose social characteristics are associated with high attitudinal support, but a low voting potential. It is necessary to stress that this is a social phenomenon...it might be labelled the "Supportive Non-Voting Syndrome" (SNV) since it is a condition resulting from a combination of factors and is a phenomenon of nature. The phenomenon needs identification and adequate comprehension if for no other reason than to take it out of the frame of reference of value judgments.

This is particularly important in those instances where states or counties disburse tax monies on a formula which provides reward for effort (i.e. punishment for lack of "effort"). If these formulae are based upon community support at the polls, very grave injustices could be done to the citizens of the community and to the children. It is difficult to lay blame at the feet of renters, more recent migrants to the community, or people who do not belong to voluntary associations. It seems inequitable to punish all of the children of a community if a rather large proportion of a population consists of people with such characteristics.

One of the major problems, therefore, of the central city schools consists of the fact that a large proportion of Detroit city residents move into the community (and out of it) every year. The not-yet acclimated newcomer, the non-participant in formal group activities, and the renter are all likely to be less in touch with what is going on in the community...less aware of when millage issues will be placed on the ballot, harder to reach by direct mail, newspapers, or radio. If this segment of the community reaches high enough proportions it can spell constant defeat at the polls...in the midst of an attitudinal plurality. This may be a rather common ecological phenomenon.

CHAPTER IV

DE FACTO SUPPORT: THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY IN THE SUBURBAN AREA

There is a basic difference in the ecological setting of the Detroit Public School system and that of the 93 school districts of the suburban area. Heterogeneity of settlement is characteristic of both central city and the suburbs. However, heterogeneity of the city and all of its implications are absorbed in the single large central city school district. In the suburban zones, rapid settlement and the arrival of a large child-rearing population has meant a proliferation of separate school districts. Along with a rapid movement of population to the suburban area, there has been an accompanying movement of business and industry to the suburban ring as well. The resulting pattern has been one of a highly variagated distribution of sources of tax support from industrial sources and an uneven distribution in the valuations of suburban bedroom properties.

In the midst of these developments there has been considerable competition among the multitude of suburban governmental units to secure an advantageous tax base. The result has been a marvelously complicated pattern of gerrymandered school districts which intertwine and overlap with gerrymandered municipal boundaries. The suburban panorama is one of heterogeneity and clustered tax advantage, upon which are superimposed 93 separate school districts. Each district is expected to work its own claim and provide educational subsistence for the children of that district.

One must ask questions concerning the educational implications of these ecological facts. As mentioned earlier in the report, a start might be made by viewing the magnitude of this suburban diversity and dispensing with the blindfolding concept of THE suburban school...a notion synonymous with universal suburban affluence. In the suburban rings of

Detroit, it might be noted that there is a black satellite community, and many poor white school districts which probably deserve more of our thought and consideration than do the dozen or so relatively affuent school districts.

Throughout the nation there is an ecological pattern in large metropolitan areas equivalent to the one which prevails in the Detroit SMSA. It is highly relevant to ask what the significance of these patterns may be for educational support. Has the rapid growth of suburban areas, the uneven distriubtion of possible sources of taxation, the proliferation of school districts, and the competition for favorable tax base among the many suburban school districts produced a situation of equality of educational support among these districts?

On the one hand it is important to note that in the public sector of support, it is possible for people of supportive characteristics to cluster differentially in several local school district areas, while people of non-supportive characteristics might cluster disproportionately in other school districts. In this event, we might expect to find sizable variations in the financial well being among the 94 school districts of the SMSA.

On the other hand, it is possible that some school districts may benefit from a substantial industrial tax base, other school districts might benefit from a substantial tax base extant in high valuation properties, other school districts might benefit from both, and still others might benefit from neither. Therefore, unless there is sufficient equalization machinery to compensate for such built-in ecological differences, it could well occur that gross variations in per-pupil expenditures would accrue in the SMSA.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide answers to these questions. The first analysis will consist of a description of the extent of variation in per-pupil expenditures among the 94 school districts of the Detroit SMSA. Variations in attitudinal support and in voting tendency will then be examined. The final analysis of the chapter will concern the public's orientation to the problem of taxation and the value of educational equality.

I VARIATIONS IN PER-PUPIL EXPENDITURES AMONG THE 94 SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF THE DETROIT STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA.

Comparisons of the level of expenditure of specific school systems should be made with caution, since it is often difficult to determine whether differences in levels actually reflect differences in services or whether they merely illustrate differences of another nature. For the purposes of this study it was felt that the notion of "de-facto support", as discussed in Chapter I, could best be illustrated by a summary measure of per-pupil expenditures by school district in the Detroit SMSA. Such a measure should reflect the end product of support extant in the public domain, together with the effects of the various channels and "gatekeeping" functions exercised by local, county, and state bodies.

Mr. Clare Ebersole, Director of Data Processing for the Detroit Public Schools kindly assisted in the compilation of the Operation Expenditure Per Pupil for all of the school districts in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties...that is, in the Detroit SMSA. These compilations did not use capital outlay, revolving funds, building site fund and debt retirement funds. In determining the operation expenditures per pupil, the 1964-65 "Annual Financial Reports" submitted to the Michigan Department of Education were used as the data source. The expenditures included the following:

1. Instruction
2. Administration
3. Attendance
4. Health Service
5. Transportation
6. Operation of plant
7. Maintenance of plant
8. Fixed charges.

While it must be recognized that expenditures per-pupil indexes are not a fully adequate measure of the quality of the school program in any individual school district, such a measure does provide an index of the functioning of the school support system in the metropolitan area.

The first finding of this study is one which reveals a gross variation in de-facto support levels in the Detroit SMSA. On the basis of the conservative Operation Expenditure Per Pupil Index, child support ranged from a high of $825, to a low of $382. This striking variation in school support merits further analysis, since the national variation among the 50 states of the union ranged from a high of $705 per pupil, to a low of $241 per pupil during the same school year. However, the latter variation is based upon expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance in public elementary and secondary day schools. By applying a similar index to the school districts in the Detroit SMSA it was discovered that the per-pupil expenditures ranged from a high of $1328 to a low of $398.[1] The significance of the uneven distributions of social characteristics and the differential locations of business and industry in the SMSA seems clear. It has resulted in large differences in per-pupil expenditures which exceeds the variations which occur among the fifty states of the union.

---

[1] The highest figure in this range was from a very atypical school district and should be discounted. The next highest school district showed a figure of $942 which should really be regarded as the top of the range. (We are indebted to Dr. Ralph Steffek of Eastern Michigan University for the latter compilations.)

In order to analyze these data further, the ninety-four school districts have been grouped into three major classes according to the operating expenditures per pupil. High support districts are those with expenditures ranging from $551 to $1,328; medium support districts are those with expenditures ranging from $487 to $550; and low support districts are those which range from $398 to $486.[2] Diagram C on the following page is a graphic portrayal of the distributions of the high and low support districts.[2]

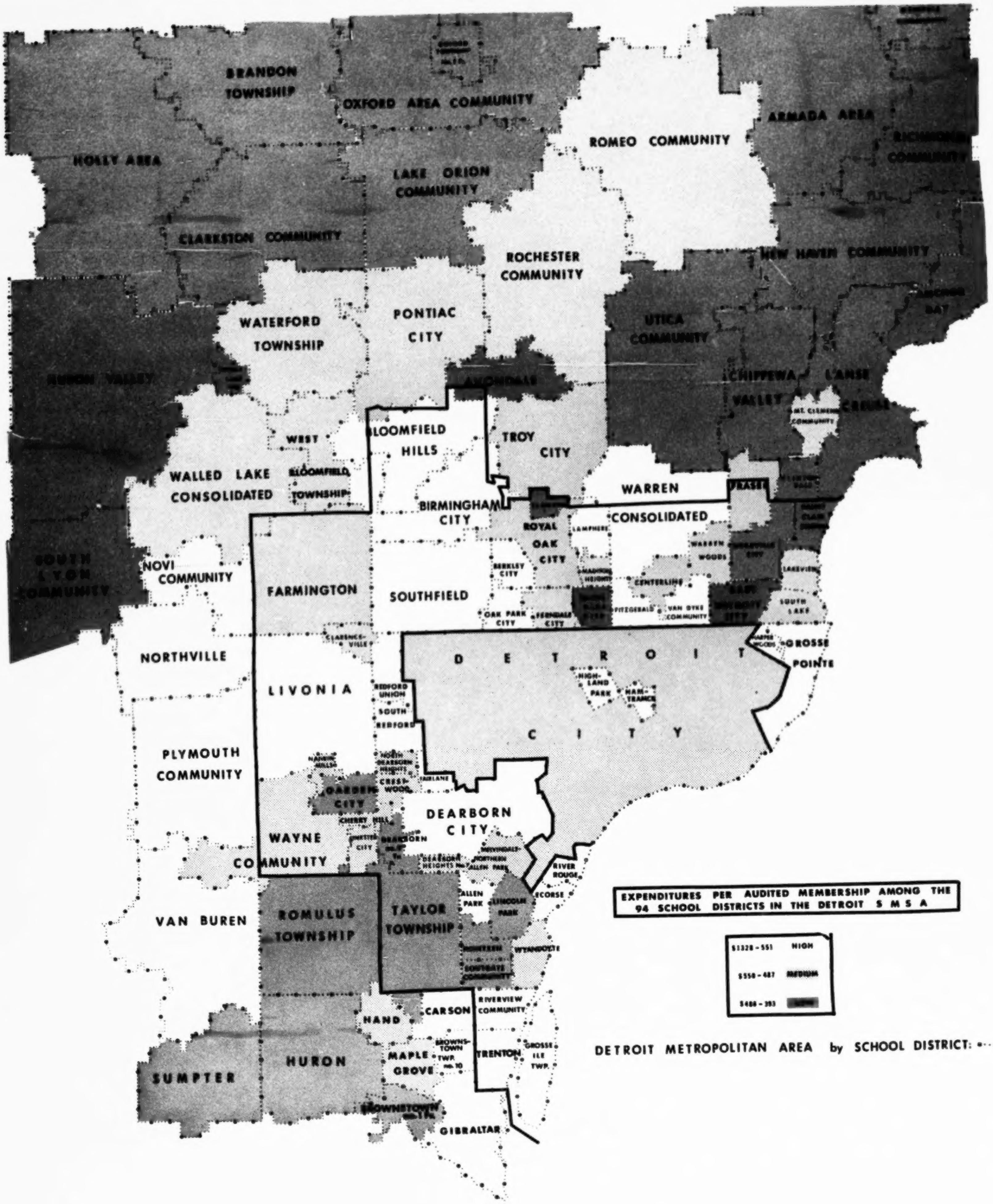
Several facts are conveyed in Diagram C. First, one may observe the variations in the size and shapes defined by the school district boundaries. This attests to a high degree of gerrymandering over the years. Secondly, it may be observed that the school districts in the lowest support category (shaded darkest) tend to lie in the periphery of the SMSA. The plight of these districts is due to the fact that they lack the benefit of either an industrial tax base, or high income bedroom properties. Contrariwise, the high support school districts (shown white on the map) tend to be closer to the central city. An examination of the various high support districts reveals that in some instances a substantial tax base is provided by industry, in other cases, support is mustered primarily from substantial bedroom properties, or support may be mustered from both industry and bedroom properties.

---

[2] Both indexes provided similar groupings of high, medium, and low de-facto support districts.

DIAGRAM C

HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW SUPPORT SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN THE DETROIT SMSA



II ATTITUDES AND VOTING TENDENCY IN THE HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW DE-FACTO SUPPORT DISTRICTS.

Previous analyses have demonstrated that zonal variations in both latent and manifest levels of school support are associated with variations in the social characteristics of residents of the six concentric zones. The question now arises concerning the extent to which the previously observed variations in the de-facto support levels among the 94 school districts are attributable to differentials in latent and manifest support. Are citizens in the high support district more favorably disposed to millage proposals than citizens in low support districts? Also, are people in the high support districts more likely to register and vote in school elections than those in the low support districts?

Table 50 indicates a similarity in attitudinal response to millage proposals on the part of residents in the high, medium, and low de-facto support school districts. Quite clearly, the large variations in de-facto support cannot be attributed to differences in citizen attitudes toward millage.

TABLE 50

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT LEVELS IN HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW DE-FACTO SUPPORT SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Attitudinal Support Level	De-Facto Support Level		
	High	Medium	Low
Supportive	60%	57%	62%
Ambivalent	16	19	10
Rejective	24	24	28
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	193	74	581

The remaining question to be asked concerns the voting tendencies of residents in these three de-facto support school districts. Table 51 indicates a slightly higher tendency among the high de-facto support district residents to report registering to vote than there is among the low de-facto support districts. However, Table 52 shows that there is no difference in these three de-facto support districts in the reported tendency to vote in school millage elections.

In view of these findings it appears quite impossible that the large variations in de-facto support among the 94 school district are attributable to the wishes or behavior of the public sector. Citizen willingness to support millage proposals is evenly distributed among the high, medium, and low support areas. So is reported tendency to vote. By inference, therefore, it can only be concluded that the large differences which have grown up with respect to the distribution of taxable property in the SMSA, together with the competition among school districts for tax advantage, have produced gerrymandered school district boundaries and large inequalities in educational support. It is also apparent that effective equalization procedures have not been devised to handle the ecological and political realities of suburban development.

One factor which may be worthy of mention is that the low support school districts are situated, for the most part, in or near the outer suburban zone, an area which is sparsely populated. Therefore, only 9 per cent of the total population of the Detroit SMSA resides in low support school districts. On the other hand, since most people think of school problems as clustering at the city's center, it is interesting to note that 20 per cent of the SMSA population lies within the first two concentric zones, and only 5 per cent reside in zone 1. In brief, it would appear that with respect to school support, we are dealing with unnoticed suburban poverty existing alongside noticed suburban affluence.

TABLE 51

REPORTED REGISTRATION TO VOTE IN HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW DE-FACTO SUPPORT SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Registered to Vote?	De-Facto Support Level		
	High	Medium	Low
Registered	79%	74%	72%
Not registered	21	26	28
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	193	74	581

TABLE 52

REPORTED VOTING TENDENCY IN HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW DE-FACTO SUPPORT SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Voted in last millage election?	De-Facto Support Level		
	High	Medium	Low
Voted	55%	55%	54%
Didn't vote	45	45	46
Totals	100%	100%	100%
No. cases	193	74	581

III TAXATION AND THE VALUE OF EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Previous analyses have stressed the uneven distribution in the population of a good many variables. We now turn to a factor which assumes an opposite pattern. The value of equality of educational opportunity is universal in the Detroit area. Table 53 was derived from responses to this question:

> "As a general idea, how important is the principle of equality of educational opportunity? Would you say it is very important for all children to have equal educational opportunities, is it fairly important, or is it not too important?"

TABLE 53

Very important	92%
Fairly important	5
Not too important	1
Don't know	2
Totals	100%
No. cases	931

At first reflection, one might be tempted to assume that a high proportion of the respondents provided insincere answers to this question. However, another question followed which tested the matter further, and more stringently, since it invoked by implication the idea of "states rights" and "federal interference". This question was:

> "It has long been known that some states are able to provide much more money to educate children than are other states. For instance, one state provides a yearly sum of $214 per pupil, while another state provides $705 per pupil. Do you feel that the federal government in Washington should try to help equalize this situation by providing some financial aid to education...or do you feel Washington should keep its hands off such matters?"

TABLE 54

Washington should help equalize	68%
Keep hands off	18
Undecided	12
Don't know	2
Totals	100%
No. cases	931

When respondents were probed concerning the reasons behind their response to this question two thirds of the respondents offered one of the following types of observations: Equal educational opportunity should be provided to all children; some states need more financial help than others; or, it is the government's business to help the schools.

It indeed seems paradoxical that 95 per cent of the citizens in the Detroit SMSA subscribe to the value of equality of educational opportunity, and that 68 per cent believe the federal government should help equalize per-pupil expenditures among the fifty states of the union, while within their own local metropolitan area support levels among the school districts vary more than they do in the nation.

A. ATTITUDES TOWARD LOCAL AND STATE TAXATION

In the American system of government, one must be extremely sympathetic with the problems of inventing tax programs which are suited to the needs of the society on the one hand, and which are acceptable to the people, on the other hand. This report is not intended to explore the problems of what a suitable plan of school taxation should be...this involves a domain of expertise beyond the boundaries of the disciplines of the researchers. However, it is possible to explore, to a limited degree, some public attitudes toward taxation of relevance to schools. The first series of tables which follow all touch upon public response to local and state taxation.

Table 55a-e is addressed to the problem of taxation in the light of services needed, and school taxation was buried in a list of other public services that are derived from public revenues. Respondents were simply asked whether they felt more, the same, or less amounts of tax monies should be spent on each of several services. For purposes of summary, two observations might be stressed. First, schools are high (third) on the liast of those services which people in the metropolitan area feel to be deserving of greater outlays. Secondly, it is particularly relevant to observe that for most of the services mentioned, there are variations from zone to zone with respect to need. For instance, the need for more money for police protection declines from zone 1 to zone 5.[3] Also, the perceived need for greater outlays for education are higher in inner city than in the suburban zones.

Table 56 shows that while a large proportion (40 per cent) of the people feel that property taxes in their community are average, in comparison with other communities, 29 per cent feel they are above average. It is interesting to note, however, that the proportion of people who say local property taxes are below average is lowest in zone 1 (7 per cent) and increases to zone 5 (18 per cent). This is surprising in view of the fact that zones 1 and 2 have a high proportion of renters, while 4, 5, and 6 have a high proportion of owners and renters.

Table 57 indicates that two thirds of the SMSA residents feel they get their money's worth (or more) from their tax dollar. However, it is noteworthy that zone 4 residents and zone 5 residents (inner suburban) have the highest proportion of people satisfied with their tax dollar returns. Outer suburban residents, on the other hand, are the least satisfied.

---

[3] The high rating accorded greater outlays for police was recorded before the Detroit riot of 1967.

Table 58 indicates public response to the notion of a city income tax levied against residents of the community. While this idea has approval within the central city area, it does not meet with approval in the suburban zones. Moreover, acceptance of the idea assumes a gradient pattern, being highest in zone 1 (65 per cent) and diminishing to a low of 31 per cent in zone 6.

Some people have assumed that a large proportion of the people really don't know the difference between a graduated and a flat income tax... or, they have no particular preference between the two. Table 59 reveals that people do distinguish between the two, and greatly prefer the graduated form of income tax over the flat type.

Tables 60 through 63 are important in that they bear upon the principle of taxation on bedroom property. The first observation here is that a majority of people in the SMSA believe homeowners already pay their fair share of taxes (54 per cent), and a fourth believe they pay more than their fair share. Oddly enough, the proportion of people who feel that homeowners pay more than their fair share is highest in the innermost zone (36 per cent), while only 19 per cent of the inner suburban residents say that homeowners pay more than their fair share.

Table 62 indicates that two-thirds of the people in the SMSA believe that property taxes are too high and should not be increased. With respect to the problem of taxation on business property, 40 per cent of the people don't know whether industrial property is taxed too high, while the remainder of the population is split in their feelings (Table 63).

In summary, the following tables reveal a conviction that the need for greater educational outlays is high...that the idea of a city income tax is more agreeable to central city residents than to suburban citizens... and that homeowners are already paying their fair share and should be taxed no higher than they presently are.

Table 55-a

PERCEPTIONS OF WHETHER MORE, THE SAME, OR LESS AMOUNTS OF TAX MONIES SHOULD BE SPENT ON VARIOUS SERVICES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Police Protection							
More	64%	68%	67%	63%	32%	42%	50%
Same	33	27	31	35	64	55	47
Less		1				1	
Don't know	3	4	2	2	4	2	3
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898
Parks & Playgrounds							
More	60%	53%	48%	43%	39%	33%	43%
Same	33	36	46	46	53	57	48
Less	4	2	3	6	3	4	3
Don't know	3	9	3	5	5	6	6
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898
Building and Operating Schools							
More	60%	60%	55%	44%	29%	37%	42%
Same	29	30	38	45	62	53	48
Less	4	2	3	3	4	4	3
Don't know	7	8	4	8	5	6	7
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 55-b

(Continued)

PERCEPTIONS OF WHETHER MORE, THE SAME, OR LESS AMOUNTS OF TAX MONIES SHOULD BE SPENT ON VARIOUS SERVICES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Building and Upkeep of Streets and Roads							
More	50%	45%	42%	39%	35%	49%	41%
Same	45	46	49	48	60	48	52
Less	2	2	2	7	2	2	2
Don't know	3	7	7	6	3	1	5
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898
Bus and Transit Service							
More	35%	43%	35%	43%	34%	25%	36%
Same	57	44	59	45	53	58	51
Less	2	1	1	6	4	4	4
Don't know	6	12	5	6	9	13	9
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898
Fire Protection							
More	52%	42%	42%	44%	23%	34%	35%
Same	41	50	55	53	72	63	61
Less		2	1			1	
Don't know	7	6	2	3	5	2	4
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 55-c

(Continued)

PERCEPTIONS OF WHETHER MORE, THE SAME, OR LESS AMOUNTS OF TAX MONIES SHOULD BE SPENT ON VARIOUS SERVICES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Building and Upkeep of Sidewalks							
More	48%	46%	41%	37%	29%	26%	35%
Same	43	47	52	54	64	57	56
Less	2	1	2	2	2	3	2
Don't know	7	6	5	7	5	14	7
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No Cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898
Library Facilities and Operation							
More	48%	48%	48%	27%	23%	30%	32%
Same	45	41	47	64	69	61	60
Less	2	2	1	4	2	3	2
Don't know	5	9	4	5	6	6	6
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898
Trash and Garbarge Collection							
More	43%	50%	39%	29%	16%	29%	29%
Same	52	44	57	69	79	58	66
Less	2	1			1	3	1
Don't know	3	5	4	2	4	10	4
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 55-d

(Continued)

PERCEPTIONS OF WHETHER MORE, THE SAME, OR LESS AMOUNTS OF TAX MONIES SHOULD BE SPENT ON VARIOUS SERVICES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
City Planning							
More	55%	45%	28%	30%	17%	20%	29%
Same	29	35	52	52	67	60	55
Less		4	2	12	4	7	6
Don't know	16	16	8	6	12	13	10
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898
Sewerage System							
More	36%	37%	36%	24%	17%	39%	27%
Same	43	52	60	72	77	47	66
Less		2			1	7	1
Don't know	21	9	4	4	5	7	6
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898
Parking Facilities							
More	34%	38%	33%	33%	18%	17%	26%
Same	40	46	54	56	70	67	60
Less		4	5	4	4	7	5
Don't know	26	12	8	7	8	9	9
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 55-e

(Continued)

PERCEPTIONS OF WHETHER MORE, THE SAME, OR LESS AMOUNTS OF TAX MONIES SHOULD BE SPENT ON VARIOUS SERVICES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Water System							
More	29%	30%	26%	21%	13%	30%	21%
Same	48	59	70	75	82	60	71
Less		2		1	1	5	2
Don't know	23	9	4	3	4	5	6
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898
Welfare Aid							
More	41%	35%	26%	16%	6%	8%	16%
Same	40	40	42	37	54	48	46
Less	17	13	19	33	10	18	16
Don't know	2	12	13	14	30	26	22
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 56

RESPONDENT COMPARISON OF LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES WITH RATES IN OTHER COMMUNITIES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Above average	27%	20%	29%	32%	32%	31%	29%
Average	29	39	31	38	42	43	40
Below Average	7	6	16	13	16	18	14
Don't know	38	36	24	16	10	8	18
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 57

IMPRESSIONS OF VALUE RECEIVED FOR TAX DOLLARS SPENT, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
More than money's worth	5%	2%	3%	2%	3%	2%	3%
Money's worth	48	47	53	64	70	41	59
Less than money's worth	29	42	37	26	22	45	31
Don't know	18	9	7	8	5	12	7
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 58

ATTITUDES TOWARD CITY INCOME TAX, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Approve	65%	57%	55%	53%	36%	31%	45%
Disapprove	28	34	35	38	60	64	48
Don't know	7	9	10	9	4	5	7
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 59

PREFERENCES FOR A FLAT, AS AGAINST A GRADUATED TYPE OF INCOME TAX, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Flat	14%	11%	13%	21%	21%	27%	19%
Graduated	64	69	67	70	73	60	69
They are equal	17	11	10	4	2	3	5
Don't know	5	9	10	5	4	10	7
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 60

IMPRESSIONS AS TO WHETHER HOMEOWNERS ARE PAYING THEIR FAIR SHARE OF LOCAL TAXES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
More than fair share	36%	29%	31%	24%	19%	25%	24%
Fair share	40	41	50	55	62	56	54
Less than fair share	5	1	1	5	3		2
Don't know	19	29	18	16	16	19	20
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 61

IMPRESSIONS AS TO WHETHER BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY ARE PAYING THEIR FAIR SHARE OF LOCAL TAXES, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
More than fair share	2%	6%	7%	12%	5%	4%	6%
Fair share	43	31	37	48	49	45	44
Less than fair share	14	22	26	16	14	20	18
Don't know	41	41	30	24	32	31	32
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 62

BELIEF THAT PROPERTY TAXES PAID BY LOCAL HOMEOWNERS IS TOO HIGH AND SHOULD NOT BE INCREASED, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Agree	76%	59%	73%	77%	65%	61%	66%
Disagree	10	14	10	8	25	24	18
Don't know	14	27	17	15	10	15	16
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 63

BELIEF THAT PROPERTY TAXES PAID ON BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY IS TOO HIGH AND SHOULD NOT BE INCREASED, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Agree	40%	27%	30%	43%	26%	27%	30%
Disagree	24	25	30	25	30	26	27
Don't know	36	48	40	32	44	47	43
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

B. ATTITUDES TOWARD ANNEXATION

The proliferation of local units of government in the suburban zones has long been a matter of concern to students of the city and to political scientists. As one looks at Diagram C (page 97) it is logical to inquire whether there might be a more equitable way to arrange the school district boundaries in the suburban area. The problem of citizen reaction to the idea of annexation is therefore a matter of some interest.

Tables 64 and 65 pose the question of annexation to the respondents. In Table 64 it was asked as a hypothetical question...as a response to the principle of annexation. This question was:

> Some people are of the opinion that the American people have too many small units of local government (like small towns, townships, and so forth) clustered closely together, and that things would work better if many of these smaller units would join together. Other people disagree with this idea. As a general principle, how do you feel about smaller units of government joining together or "annexing"?

Table 64 presents responses to this question, and by concentric zone. Table 65 which follows posed a specific question concerning annexation as a possibility for the respondent's own community. This question was:

> How would you feel about your own local government here in (name of community) annexing with one or more neighboring governments?

Both Tables 64 and 65 present a consistent picture. Annexation is not acceptable as a principle, nor as a specific consideration for the respondent's own community. It is less acceptable in the suburban zones, than in the central city zones, however. It is particularly unacceptable in the inner suburban zone. In brief, it would appear that the problems of proliferated school districts in the suburban zones and the inequalities in school support which have arisen therein, are not to be resolved in any major way through annexation in the near future.

Table 64

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PRINCIPLE OF ANNEXATION, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Agree	50%	47%	51%	46%	37%	40%	43%
Disagree	36	27	31	41	56	49	43
Don't know	24	26	18	13	7	11	14
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 65

ATTITUDES TOWARD OWN COMMUNITY ANNEXING, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Approve	52%	45%	47%	47%	32%	37%	40%
Disapprove	26%	32%	36%	32%	60%	51%	45%
Don't know	22	23	17	21	8	12	15
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

C. ATTITUDES TOWARD FEDERAL AID FOR THE SCHOOLS

It was indicated previously (Table 54, p. 102) that 68 per cent of the people in the Detroit SMSA believed that the federal government should provide some financial aid to help equalize differences in educational support among the states. The question now arises concerning public reaction to the idea of federal assistance for local public schools. This question was framed in two ways; first, as a matter of the desirability of federal aid for local schools, secondly as to the necessity for such aid.

Table 66 discloses that three-fifths of the people in the Detroit SMSA believe that federal aid to local schools is desirable, and a slightly higher proportion (64 per cent) believe that federal aid is necessary.

With respect to its desirability, it may be observed that it is perceived as being most desirable by zone 1 residents (80 per cent), and the responses beyond zone 1 decline to zones 5 and 6 where 54 per cent of the people believe federal assistance to be desirable. As to its necessity, three-fourths of inner city residents feel it is necessary, three-fifths of inner suburban citizens feel it is necessary, and slightly over half of outer suburban people feel that such aid is necessary.

Table 66

DESIRABILITY OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE FOR LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Desirable	80%	72%	68%	59%	54%	54%	61%
Ambivalent	5	9	16	23	21	17	17
Undesirable	7	10	8	11	19	23	15
Don't know	8	9	8	7	6	6	7
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No cases	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

Table 67

PERCEIVED NECESSITY FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS COMPARED WITH OTHER WAYS OF MEETING RISING SCHOOL COSTS, BY RESIDENCE LOCATION.

	Central City Zones				Suburban Zones		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	SMSA
Federal Aid	74%	74%	73%	65%	61%	53%	64%
Other	17	14	18	25	34	41	28
Don't know	9	12	9	10	5	6	8
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No case	42	140	105	166	331	114	898

SUMMARY

The effects of metropolitan heterogeneity produces different problems for the central city and suburban schools. This chapter has explored the implications of a large number of separate school districts in the suburban areas competing for a favorable tax base via the route of politically gerrymandered school district boundaries. The effects of natural distributions of tax source, coupled with gerrymandering are such as to provide advantage for the children of some communities, and disadvantage for those whose parents have settled in other school districts.

While it is traditional to think of inequalities of school support as a phenomenon that is national and occurs among states, it has herein been demonstrated that an equally severe variation occurs within the boundaries of a single metropolitan area. The causes are primarily ecological and political. Variations in per pupil expenditures are not attributable to the public sector, since citizen attitudes toward millage, and the tendency to vote in millage elections does not vary among the populations of the high, medium, and low de-facto support school districts.

The latter part of the chapter has presented the finding that the value of equality of educational opportunity is universal in the population of the Detroit SMSA. Therefore, we are confronted with a situation in which the realities of urban organization are in conflict with a major value of the people.

Future efforts to solve these problems at the local level appear dim. Annexation of governmental units in the suburban area would meet with resistance. There is a relatively strong feeling that home owners are already taxed enough. Neither is a city income tax a bright prospect to the people of the community. However, this is a more acceptable prospect to city residents than it is to suburban dwellers.

In the minds of the citizens, the Federal government is looked upon as a major source of assistance for problems of local school support. Over three-fifths see federal assistance as being both necessary, and desirable.

CHAPTER V

RACIAL SEGREGATION

The bearing which ecological facts have for the community-school relationship is perhaps no more dramatically illustrated than in the problem of racial segregation in the schools. The deconcentration phenomenon has found the Negro population in an atypical position. Peripheral migration among the higher income child-rearing population has been for whites, but not for Negroes. This phenomenon has held true for all large metropolitan areas. Schnore has summarized this situation for the Detroit SMSA as follows:

> Both whites and non-whites are leaving the very core of the central city; the white population is failing to maintain its numbers in the middle sections of the city while the non-white residents are accumulating there very rapidly; the outer zone of the central city is adding to its white population although at a much reduced rate; the ring is growing at an extremely fast pace, especially that part of the ring which is adjacent to the central city; in absolute numbers almost all of the total increase in the ring is the result of additions to the white population; and finally, these trends could be seen developing at least twenty to thirty years ago and most of them were accentuated during the 'fifties.[1]

The phenomenon of racially segregated zones and racially segregated neighborhoods has presented educators with the problem of racially segregated schools. It might be observed that in the past the nation has pretty well worked its way out of segregated ethnic settlement patterns. Racial segregation is still with us...so is socio-economic segregation, and the American value of equality of educational opportunity stands in stark contrast to these facts of social organization. Some argue that the best, or the most immediate answer is in bussing children. Other proposals include redistricting, or the creation of large education centers located at strategic geographic points to serve both the black and the white populations.

---

1. Leo F. Schnore, The Urban Scene, (New York: The Free Press, 1965) p. 276.

The roots of the problem, however, remain within the realms of the social organization of the community and the selective factors associated white and nonwhite settlement. Admittedly the causes of differential settlement are not fully understood. It would appear that certain economic factors are important. A greater proportion of whites than of Negroes are financially able to meet the higher costs of suburban living. The job market is also probably more feasible for Negroes in the inner city zones than in the outer city zones. Of greater importance, however, would appear to be the factors of restrictive selling practices of various sorts which create a separate market for whites and for nonwhites.

The Problem

It is highly significant that political leadership, abetted by religious and educational leadership, has not been successful in achieving the racial desegregation of urban neighborhoods. Local, state and federal power, reinforced by religious sanctions and educational programs, has been met by some manner of opposing influence at the local community level. It is pertinent to ask what this source of influence might be, and to explore the problem of racial segregation at the grass roots community level.

One potential source of influence has gone almost unnoticed in the wide search for answers to the segregation problem. The associational patterns of local residents would appear to be a logical point of question. Of particular interest are the large numbers of clubs and formalized groups of various types...the so-called "voluntary", or formal associations.

Previous research has revealed that members of formal associations tend to be more active in civic affairs than non-members, and they also tend to interact more frequently on an informal basis with friends, neighbors, relatives, and co-workers. It has been assumed in some quarters that community leadership extant in these organizations represents a potential for providing support for, or resistance to, various governmental programs.

The ongoing interaction processes of the community, particularly those of the formal and informal associational networks, serve as the major crucibles in which the problems of the community are discussed—in which support for, or resistance to new ideas is gelled. These interaction processes constitute the norm-generating machinery of the community. Residence location or gerrymandered school district boundaries could well find their origin and support in these interaction processes. This is the point at which decisions are made concerning who should live and attend school where. This is a potential source of grass roots community influence. To the extent that this is true, it might be assumed that only when Negroes enter into and are part of such decision-making processes may the community be said to be racially integrated.

The potential significance of the voluntary association lies in two directions. First, it may be a strong source of community change, or a source of resistance to change. To the extent that this is true, the problem of segregated residence and segregated schools might be alleviated through this source. Secondly, the interaction patterns of citizens in the community is a more meaningful index of integration than is housing. The voluntary associations of the community represent power in community affairs (or at the least, access to power). It would therefore appear reasonable to assume that segregated interaction is a more serious problem than segregated residence.

The two problems to which this chapter are addressed are concerned first, with the extent to which formal association members are supportive of social change in the areas of housing and school desegregation. Secondly, the chapter will explore the extent to which housing patterns and interaction patterns are associated.

I THE ROLE OF THE FORMAL ASSOCIATION IN COMMUNITY CHANGE

In recent years sociologists have explored the formal (or "voluntary") association as a significant factor in community life. To date such studies have primarily provided descriptive data concerning the social characteristics of members and non-members. Very little is presently known of the deeper significance for community behavior of formal associations. These organizations, however, are thought to occupy an important position in relation to the major social institutions of urban systems. This relationship has been described as follows:

> The family, the church, the business enterprise, the governmental agency, and the school are all irrevocably involved in the functional system of the urban society. None can function independently of the others. And in the interstices between the basic production and the service units are numerous associations that operate to modify the functions of the more basic units. These include labor unions and occupational groups of all kinds, parents and teachers associations, Isaac Walton Leagues, business men's luncheon clubs, and so forth indefinitely.[2]

Speculations concerning the functions of the formal association in community life might lead one to believe that such organizations play a significant role in community cohesion and could well be associated with the phenomenon of racial integration. It has been assumed that formal associations perform such functions as those of power distribution, abetting personal identification, providing an avenue for social and economic advancement of members, facilitating social change, and enhancing social cohesion.[3]

With respect to the previously mentioned problem of implementing nationally sanctioned programs of desegregation at the local level, the observations of two scholars seem pertinent. Arnold Rose observes:

> Political power, or influence, in the United States is not concentrated in the government, but is distributed over as many citizens, working through their associations, as want to take the responsibility for power.[4]

---

2. Ronald Freedman, Amos Hawley, et al., *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956), p. 406.

3. See Arnold Rose, *Sociology: The Study of Human Relations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 418-424.

4. *Ibid.*

And in a related manner, Oscar Handlin comments on the political power of formal associations:

> Only through the action of non-political, voluntary associations could men check the state's power without directly opposing it.[5]

The potential significance for community affairs of the formal association is reflected in the fact that somewhere around 100,000 such organizations are thought to exist in the United States.[6] Evidence from a national survey reveals over one-half (55 per cent) of the nation's adults belong to such groups.[7] Moreover, the leadership potential of formal associations is further reflected in the fact that research has consistently shown that members of formal associations are drawn disproportionately from the higher income, educational, and occupational levels of the community. The formal association would appear to represent a force in community affairs with the potential for facilitating—or restraining—change in community affairs.

Formal Associations and Political Behavior

There is at present no published research which sheds light on the significance of the formal association as a force to assist or to deter racial integration in the American community. Very few studies are in existence which reveal the significance of the formal association with respect to other kinds of community behavior. A limited number of studies do show, however, that formal association membership is a factor in political elections. For instance, Maccoby's study of a West Virginia community indicates that association members tend to vote in greater numbers than non-members.[8] Hastings found a similar relationship in a Massachusetts community,[9] and Lipset reports a study by Linz in West Germany in which association members were more interested in politics, read more newspapers, listened to more radio, and voted in greater numbers than did non-members.[10] A study of a defeated annexation issue in a Michigan city found formal association members in the fringe area opposed to the issue to a greater extent than non-members.[11] And in another setting, it was found that members of formal associations in a Detroit suburb were attitudinally more supportive of school millage proposals than were non-members...and, the members tended to vote more often.[12] The relationship between the extent of activity in formal associations and the degree of millage support in this study was linear and strong. Table 68 , page 127, shows the extent of that relationship.

---

[5] Oscar Handlin, The American People in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

[6] Arnold Rose, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 309.

[7] Murray Hausknecht, The Joiners (New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962), p. 9.

---

[8] Herbert Maccoby, "The Differential Political Activity of Participants in Voluntary Associations", American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), 523-532.

[9] Philip K. Hastings, "The Voter and the Non-Voter," American Journal of Sociology, 62 (1956), 302-307.

[10] Seymour Lipset, Political Man (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1960).

[11] Basil G. Zimmer and Amos H. Hawley, "The Significance of Membership in Voluntary Associations," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (1959) 196-201.

[12] Ralph V. Smith, Stanley Flory, and Rashid Bashshur, Community Organization and Support of the Schools, U. S. Office of Education Project No. 1828. (Ypsilanti, Institute for Community and Educational Research of Eastern Michigan University, 1964).

TABLE 68

MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITY IN FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS, * AND VOTE CAST FOR THE SCHOOL BUILDING PROGRAM

"On the proposition to grant authority to finance the school building program did you vote..."	Non-Members	Members		
		Number of meetings attended in an average month		
		None	One or Two	Three or more
Yes	19%	26%	41%	47%
No	12	13	9	11
Can't recall	9	18	12	10
Didn't vote	60	43	38	32
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	132	62	162	128

---

* A formal association is defined as a formally constituted group that elects officers, holds regular meetings, and has an expressly stated program of activities. Labor unions and church groups are treated separately.

Since some evidence exists to indicate that the formal association is a factor of significance in the political life of local communities, the question arises concerning the relationship between formal associations and racial integration. If membership is positively correlated with school millage support, in what manner is membership associated with racial integration? Three assumptions are possible:

To a greater extent than non-members, formal association members are:

1. More resistant to the racial integration of neighborhoods, schools, or social interaction.
2. Neither more nor less resistant to racial integration.
3. More likely to be facilitators and/or acceptors of the racial integration of neighborhoods, schools, or social interaction.

The assumption is that if social change in race relations is to occur, there must be sufficient proportions of initiators and acceptors of community change, and a minimum proportion of resistors to change. By "initiators" we refer, for instance, to those persons willing to sell their homes to Negroes, or willing to invite Negroes to join their social clubs. By "acceptors", we mean those persons who would be willing to accept the Negro as a neighbor, or as a fellow club member. In contrast, resistors are those persons who are unwilling to sell their homes to Negroes, and unwilling to accept Negroes as neighbors (or as fellow club members).[13] Specifically, then, the question may be posed concerning the extent to which formal association members function as initiators, acceptors, and as resistors of racial integration in the local community.

---

[13] It should be noted that these categories are not mutually exclusive from the point of view of given individual (s) behavior. Quite obviously a person who initiates change will most likely accept it as well, while other acceptors may not be willing to initiate it. However, the term will be employed more in the collective sense of viewing the functions of initiation, acceptance, and resistance without emphasis upon the individualized aspect of the phenomenon.

Are Voluntary Association Members Initiators of Change?

One question touched upon the respondent's willingness to sell his home to a Negro family (i.e., serve as an initiator of change). The question read as follows:

> Q. 23. Suppose you owned a home in a block where there are no Negroes and a Negro family with a background very similar to the other people in the block wanted to buy your house. Would you probably sell to the Negro family, or would you probably not sell?

TABLE 69

MEMBERSHIP IN FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS AND WILLINGNESS TO SELL HOME TO A NEGRO FAMILY. (WHITE RESPONDENTS ONLY)

"...would you probably sell to the Negro family, or would you probably not sell?"	Members	Non-Members
Would sell	21%	22%
Would not sell	74	76
Don't know	5	2
Totals	100%	100%
Number of cases	387	363

QUITE CLEARLY, FORMAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERS IN THE DETROIT SMSA ARE NO MORE PRONE TO INITIATE SOCIAL CHANGE IN HOUSING THAN ARE NON-MEMBERS.

Two explanations might be advanced for the previous finding that formal association members are no more willing than non-members to initiate social change in housing. First, since the social characteristics of members are known to differ from non-members, it is possible that variations in such factors as age, income, educational level, etc. might tend to level differences between these two groups. A second explanation might be that in this analysis all types of formal association members are treated as one group. Thus while some types of formal group members might be very willing to initiate change, other types of group members might not be, with the result that these types of groups would tend to cancel each other out. Some additional analyses tended to bear out this latter explanation. A full analysis of this factor requires a large number of cases, however, (more than we possess) and remains as a problem for future research.

A series of control procedures was applied to determine the extent to which differences in various social characteristics of members and non-members (i.e., age, sex, education, etc.) modified willingness to initiate change in housing. For the most part, these characteristics did not show a significant relationship to willingness to sell. Educational level did, however, show a positive relationship, but only at the college level. Table 70 portrays that relationship.

Table 70 raises the interesting question of why people with college level educations are more willing to initiate social change in housing than people with less education. Is it because college education promotes more humanistic values in this matter? Or is it that the college-educated people have more status security and dare to risk the status implications of having Negroes as neighbors? Or is it both? This problem carries us to our next area of exploration.

TABLE 70

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND WILLINGNESS TO SELL HOME TO A NEGRO FAMILY

"...would you probably sell to the Negro family, or would you probably not sell?"	Educational Level		
	Less than High School	High School	More than High School
Would sell	20%	20%	31%
Would not sell	77	77	63
Don't know	3	3	6
Totals	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	375	253	120

The Confusing Element of Race and Social Class

The factor of social class often confuses the problem of racially integrated housing. In the minds of most whites "blue-collarness", if not "lower-classness" and "slums", is associated with Negroes. Therefore, to ask some respondents if they would accept a Negro family as a neighbor is tantamount to asking if they would accept a lower class family as a neighbor. A question was therefore posed which structured the social class factor by providing people with paired choices, Negro and white, of differing social class levels. The question read as follows:

Q. 24. Suppose the residence next to you is vacant and six different families have applied to move in. In terms of their probable desirability as neighbors, which of these families would you rank first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth?

a. A Negro medical doctor and his family.

b. A white lawyer and his family.

c. A Negro bank clerk and his family.

d. A white postal clerk and his family.

e. A Negro family on relief, looking for work.

f. A white sharecropper and his family looking for work.

TABLE 71

NEIGHBOR PREFERENCES OF WHITE RESPONDENTS

Order of Preference	Negro Medic	White Law'r	Negro bank clerk	White post'l clerk	Negro on rel-f	White share-crop'r
First	10%	63%	2%	21%	0%	1%
Second	20	22	2	44	1	3
Third	28	5	13	17	1	25
Fourth	22	2	45	10	1	3
Fifth	3	0	22	1	22	32
Sixth	1	0	1	0	59	25
D.K. and N.A.	16	7	15	7	17	11
Totals	100%	99%	100%	100%	101%	100%

TABLE 71 makes it quite obvious that for some Detroit area residents "race" is THE factor in neighbor selection. For instance, approximately 30 per cent of the respondents would prefer a lower class white for a neighbor to an upper class Negro. On the other hand, for other Detroit residents, social class is THE factor in neighbor selection. Thirty per cent would select an upper class Negro as a neighbor in preference to a lower or a middle class white, and almost two-thirds of the whites would select an upper class Negro as a neighbor in preference to a lower class white.

The assumption that a considerable degree of white resistance to the racial integration of neighborhoods is based upon the stereotyping of Negroes as lower class objects seems to be upheld. Hence, the meaning of residential segregation for most middle class whites may reside not so much in the common myth of lowered property values, as it does in the fear of infusing one's neighborhood with a symbol of lower class status. Hence, much of the fear of "race" may boil down to a matter of status anxiety on the part of middle class whites. One respondent summed up this attitude very nicely when she told the interviewer:

> "I would really like to have the Negro doctor and his family as my number one choice. But what if he is out in his front yard raking the leaves and my friends drive by...how would they know he was a doctor?"

If Formal Association Members are Not Initiators, are they Acceptors, or are they Resistors to Change?

Previous analysis has shown that formal association members are no more willing to initiate social change in housing (i.e., sell their homes to Negroes) than are non-members. The question therefore arises whether members are more prone than non-members to accept Negroes as neighbors (i.e., assuming someone else has sold or rented them the house), and/or whether members are more prone than non-members to strongly resist neighborhood integration. Further analysis of the previous question makes it possible to probe this matter.

White respondents who selected a Negro family as a first or second choice for neighbors were grouped and labelled "strong acceptors". Respondents who selected a Negro family as a third choice were labelled "moderate acceptors", while those who would not even select a Negro family as a third choice were labelled "strong resistors". A fourth group was identified, those who were unable to answer the question, those who said it really didn't matter at all which family moved in, or those who insisted upon according two or more families the same preference. Table 72 summarizes the results of this classification for members and non-members.

TABLE 72

MEMBERSHIP IN FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS, AND ACCEPTANCE OF NEGROES AS NEIGHBORS AMONG WHITE RESPONDENTS

Willingness to accept Negroes as Neighbors	Members	Non-Members
Acceptors	32%	30%
Moderate acceptors	36	27
Strong resistors	21	33
Mixed reactions	11	11
Totals	100%	100%
Number of cases	384	365

Table 72 reveals that members of formal associations hue to a moderate position relative to the acceptance of Negroes as neighbors. Members are no more likely than non-members to accept Negroes as a first or second choice--i.e., be strong acceptors. However, members are more likely than non-members to accept Negroes as a third choice--to function as moderate acceptors. Moreover, members are less likely than non-members to be strong resistors.

Another question of interest in an analysis of racial integration of neighborhoods concerns the reactions of whites who actually live in an integrated neighborhood compared with those who live in a segregated neighborhood. Admittedly we may be dealing here with the variable of selective migration--the whites who move to suburbia may differ in racial attitudes from those who do not. Nevertheless, Table 73 shows that the acceptance of Negroes as neighbors decreases with increasing distance from the city's center. That is, the greater the degree of the integration of the neighborhood, the greater the acceptance of Negroes as neighbors.

TABLE 73

ACCEPTANCE OF NEGROES AS NEIGHBORS,
BY CONCENTRIC ZONE
(WHITE RESPONDENTS ONLY)

Willingness to accept Negroes as Neighbors	Residence					
	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6
Strong acceptors	59%	44%	40%	30%	31%	23%
Moderate acceptors	24	15	23	34	34	33
Moderate resistors	5	13	14	8	10	12
Strong resistors	12	28	23	28	25	32
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	17	54	57	155	326	141

The "Status-Quo" Position of Formal Association Members.

Two other questions in the Detroit study probed respondent perceptions concerning the pace of racial integration of housing and of the schools. The questions read:

> Q. 20. Some people feel that many American communities are moving too rapidly in their efforts to racially integrate housing and the schools. Other people feel that things are moving too slowly. Thinking about the Detroit area, would you say that the racial integration of housing is going:
>
> a. Much too rapidly.
>
> b. A little too rapidly.
>
> c. About right.
>
> d. A little too slowly.
>
> e. Much too slowly.
>
> Q. 21. And with respect to racial integration of the schools in the Detroit area, are things moving:
>
> a. Much too rapidly.
>
> b. A little too rapidly.
>
> c. About right.
>
> d. A little too slowly
>
> e. Much too slowly.

Table 74 presents responses to these two questions as offered by both white and Negro respondents. Among white respondents, three facts are obvious concerning the relationship of formal association membership and feelings about integrated housing and schools:

1. Membership diminishes the view that "things are moving too rapidly".
2. Membership increases the view that "things are moving about right".
3. Membership does not affect the view that things are moving "too slowly".

Among Negro respondents, the findings are quite the reverse. However, it is pertinent to note that the effects of membership are not noticeable until one observes the responses of plural group members—that is, those who belong to two or more associations. Plural membership increases the view that things are moving too slowly.

TABLE 74

MEMBERSHIP IN FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD RACIAL INTEGRATION OF HOUSING AND OF SCHOOLS IN THE DETROIT AREA

"With respect to the racial integration of housing in the Detroit area, would you say things are moving:"	White Respondents			Negro Respondents		
	Non-Members	Single Member-ship	Plural Member-ship	Non-Members	Single Member-ship	Plural Member-ship
Too rapidly	58%	49%	44%	9%	6%	2%
About right	30	34	43	37	41	30
Too slowly	4	8	6	45	44	68
Don't know	8	9	7	9	9	0
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
"And would you say the racial integration of schools is moving:"						
Too rapidly	50%	43%	40%	9%	6%	2%
About right	36	40	48	37	41	33
Too slowly	4	6	5	45	44	65
Don't know	10	11	7	9	9	0
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	475	253	257	103	32	40

II SEGREGATED HOUSING AND SEGREGATED INTERACTION: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS

This portion of the study is directed to the problems of conceptualizing and measuring racial integration. Traditionally, conceptualization of the extent and patterning of racial segregation relies heavily upon descriptions of geographic separation of Negro and white residence, together with related patterns of separation of facilities and services, differential opportunities, and a wide range of discriminatory practices.[14] All told, there has been a considerable tendency to reify the housing notion and assume that racial segregation IS geographic separation of Negro and white residence.

The difficulties inherent in this conceptualization derive not so much from error as they do from limitation and oversight. Admittedly there is great merit in detailed descriptions of residential segregation. However, it is herein maintained that separation of residence, schools and facilities is significant to the extent that it leads to differential association among Negroes and whites.

It is an old established principle that the values, beliefs, and behaviors which individuals exhibit are anchored in the social norms of the groups in which they interact. When different groups of people in a community interact on a differential basis, many differences tend to arise in the value and behavior systems of the two groups. Differential association in a community tends to serve disjunctive ends—it leads people further apart. Common and egalitarian association tends to serve conjunctive ends—it draws people closer together. People must have access

---

14. A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, edited by Julius Gould and William Kolb, relates that the major use of the term "segregation" in the social sciences is to denote"...that ecological process by which people settle or locate in those areas of a community occupied by people of similar social characteristics or activities." It is then further indicated that stress has come to be placed upon that usage of the term which denotes that geographic separation and separate use of facilities is forced upon subordinate categories by law, custom, or "gentlemen's agreements".

to one another on an organized, ongoing, and egalitarian basis if they are to communicate effectively, arrive at sympathetic insights and understandings, and solve common problems. This is a condition symptomatic of community cohesion. It is highly pertinent to analyze those interaction patterns which tend to lead people toward greater concensus, and to better understand those elements of community organization which facilitate such interaction.

The plotting of points where people interact, as well as where they live adds an important dimension to urban analyses. Such procedures are uncommon, however, and the idea of deriving such plottings requires a methodology suitable to the task. The analyses which follow represent the blending of sociological conceptualizations with centrographic techniques of geography.

Some Background Notes: Macrogeography; The Standard Deviational Ellipse

The modern city is a complex, dynamic entity. Perhaps one of the most important factors in its composition is the rhythmic flow of people from one part of the city to another. Such intra-urban population movement constitutes the subject of this portion of the chapter.

If one takes a typical workday or workweek, the spatial patterning of commuting, shopping, school attendance, business and social contacts shows up as an interaction network linking the individual households to establishments throughout the metropolitan community as well as to other household units.

The network exhibited by each household may be depicted "as mere dots" on a map of the urban area; the interaction processes of the community may be envisioned as lines connecting the dots. If one were to posess the ability to grasp the nature of these rhythmic flows in urban space he would have additional insight into how the city functions. Indeed, very few of us would claim to have this degree of discernment. However, by the use of a particular type of statistical analysis applicable to such a two dimensional system, we are able to derive a refined concept of intra-urban movement.

Pursuant to the type of analysis suggested above is the adoption of the macroscopic point of view. Currently, micrography as the study of small areas, and macrogeography as the study of large areas, are generally accepted definitions. In physics, however, macroscopic refers to manifestations of the aggregate effects of the combined microscopic units. In social science, as in physical science the behavior of the individual may not be considered as determined, but in both sciences aggregated behavior viewed macroscopically is determined and generalizations about it can be made, once the proper dimensions are isolated and recognized. It is the contention of this macro-approach that the forging of a theory of human society can be greatly aided by finding regularities in the aggregate.[15]

In this study the microscopic units are quite apparently the individual households. Significant aggregation of these units appears to be in two directions: (1) socio-economically, and (2) interactionistically. Thus we can aggregate the population by race, income, education as well as by workplace, school, voluntary associations, and other social contacts.

Once the appropriate aggregation is chosen we may wish to examine the central tendency of a particular phenomenon or group of phenomena. For example, a question asked later in this chapter is; "Is the interaction pattern for Negroes diverging or converging with that of the white population?". This can best be answered by aggregating the Negro households and finding the central tendency of their interaction pattern and doing the same for whites. Once completed it is only necessary to measure the distances between the white and Negro centers of interaction and compare them with an earlier work completed along these lines.

---

[15] Warntz, W. "Geography at Mid-Twentieth Century", World Politics, XI 1959, pp. 442-454.

Studying various types of "centers" of areal distributions (centrography) is not new. It had its beginning in the United States in the 1870's and later D. I. Mendeleev began investigating the "center of gravity" of Russia.[16] Several of his fellow Russians, led by E. E. Sviatlovsky, adopted the idea of "centrography" and established the Mendeleev Centrographical Laboratory in Leningrad in 1925. Thus began an interesting but debilitating "race" among the Americans, Russians, and Italians, to see who could compute the most centers. By the late 1930's centrography had reached its nadir in the realm of science. This was due mainly to the absurd claims of many of its proponents and because it had proved to be almost completely useless as an independent discipline.

The centrographers failed to realize that no area can be analyzed solely in terms of centers and that this should be only one part of an integrated system of analysis for areal distributions. In particular, the centrographers failed to consider the possible significance of areal dispersion, they neglected an essential facet of bivariate statistical analysis of which they were a part.[17] It is unfortunate that with the decline of centrography went the positive contributions from geographical and statistical literature. Only recently has there been a resurgence of interest in matters related to this field and a refinement of techniques dealing with the study of areal distributions (see Appendix C).

---

16. Mendeleev, D. I. K Poznaniv Rossi (Information on Russia) St. Petersburg: 1906, 157 pp.

17. Neft, D. S., "Statistical Analysis for Areal Distributions", Monograph Series #2, Regional Science Research Institute, 1966.

Although the centrographers were ignoring the importance of analyzing the significance of areal dispersion, it would be a mistaken notion to assume that no work was being done in this area. The introduction of the use of bivariate statistical analysis of areal distributions should probably be credited to D. Welty Lefever.[18] In his work he noted the value of the standard deviational ellipse as a measure of the dispersion of a phenomena about its point of central tendency. Since this technique is of primary interest to this study, a brief description will be presented later. Lefever's work was criticized (and in fact there were several errors in his presentation),[19] and very little is done from this point on with spatial analysis. Among the few works completed on this subject in the 1930's is that of Linders.[20] The seeds of juncture of measures of central tendency with those of areal distribution, although sown during the late 1920's, lay dormant for an entire generation before their growth in the works of Bachi, Jones, Lee and others.[21] Current and proposed research in several fields are now taking advantage of the fruits of this work.[22]

Measuring Central Tendency and Areal Dispersion

The information provided by the analyses introduced in this chapter may be enhanced if the reader is presented a somewhat brief description of the particular techniques utilized.

It is probably easiest to think of a measure of central tendency for an areal distribution as some point or location that is functionally

---

18. Lefever, D. W., "Measuring Geographic Concentration By Means of the Standard Deviational Ellipse", *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1926.

19. Furfey, P.H., "A Note on Lefever's 'Standard Deviational Ellipse'", *American Journal of Sociology*, XXVII, pp. 94-98.

20. Linders, F. J., "Uber die Berechnung des Schwerpunkts und der Tragheitellipse einer Bevolkerung", Metron, IX, 1, June 1933, pp. 3-10.

21. See Appendix C.

22. See Appendix D.

related to the other members of the population as they are distributed over an area.[23] Thus, in the calculation of the "average position" of a distribution of points, the value of each point is evaluated and the resultant "mean center" (average position, center of gravity) is established. This is analogous in linear statistics to the arithmetic mean, except that whereas in linear statistics only one value represents the average position of the distribution, it is necessary in bivariate statistical analysis to calculate two means, one along the X-axis (horizontal) and the other along the Y-axis (vertical). The location of the point indicated by these two values thus represents the "average location" of a distribution of points just as the single value represents the "average location" of a linear distribution of values in linear statistics.

A particular characteristic of the mean center is its sensitivity to internal movements. This sensitivity makes the arithmetic mean center a very useful parameter for studying general trends in the pattern of a distribution over periods of time. In addition, it also provides a summary measure of the areal distribution of a phenomenon at a particular point in time.

In any type of statistical analysis it is very important to be familiar with the limits of the technique being employed. The "mean center" is no exception. Being an average measure, the bivariate mean suffers the same limits as does the arithmetic mean in linear statistics. For example, the mean center is greatly affected by extreme locations and thus the locations at a relatively great distance from a "cluster" of points are given inordinate representation in the calculation of the mean. The sensitivity of the mean to internal movement, mentioned earlier as an advantage, must also be taken into consideration, for any movement within the population will cause some change in its location although the change may be minute.

---

[23] Neft, D. S., Op Cite, p. 27.

Indiscriminate application of the mean center or any statistical device cannot be justified. However, if proper caution is utilized in the use of this measure, valuable information may be obtained which, when coupled with other types of investigation reveal significant characteristics of an areally distributed phenomenon.

Dispersion

As mentioned earlier, one of the major failings of the centrographers was their neglect of the significance of areal dispersion. It is very unlikely that locations of any particular phenomenon will be uniformly distributed over an area under investigation. Conversely, there may be areas where it occurs more frequently than elsewhere. A careful analysis of the distribution could, when combined with other information, provide insight into the forces operating to produce a particular distribution. It is in this connection that we re-introduce the concept of the standard deviational ellipse. Although this concept carries a rather formidable sounding name, it can be rather easily dealt with if it is explained, as was the mean center, in terms of linear statistics.

Assume we have calculated, in the manner described above, the mean center of our distribution. Suppose we now draw a north-south and an east-west line (orthogonal axes) through this point as in figure (a).

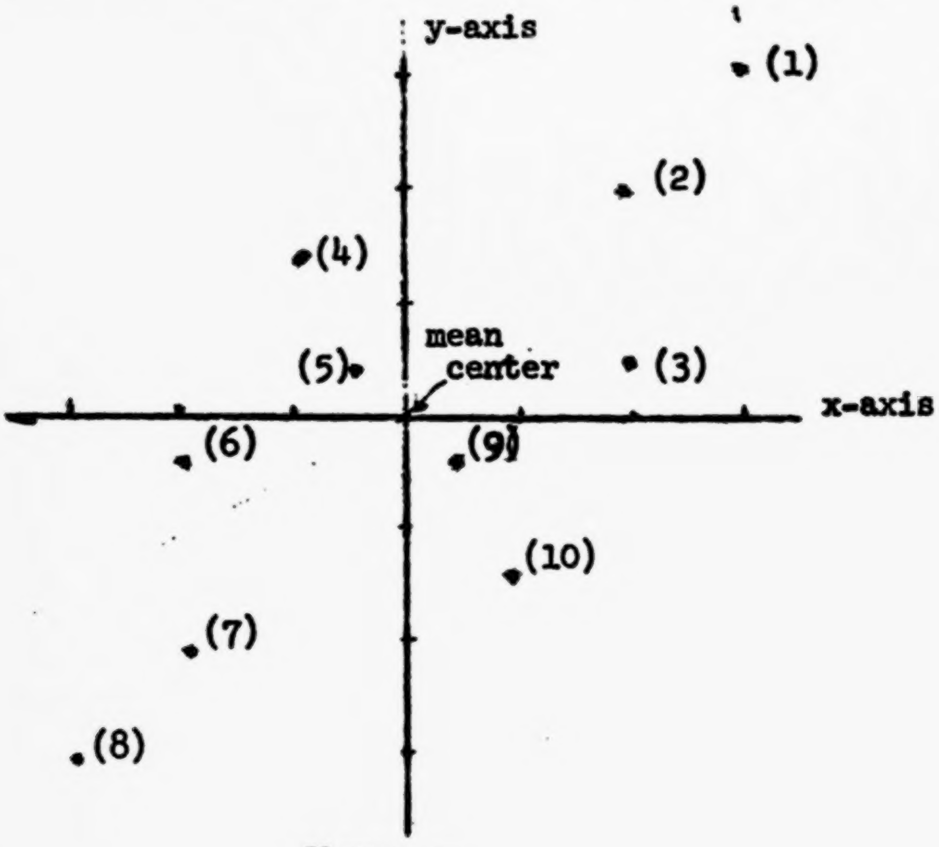
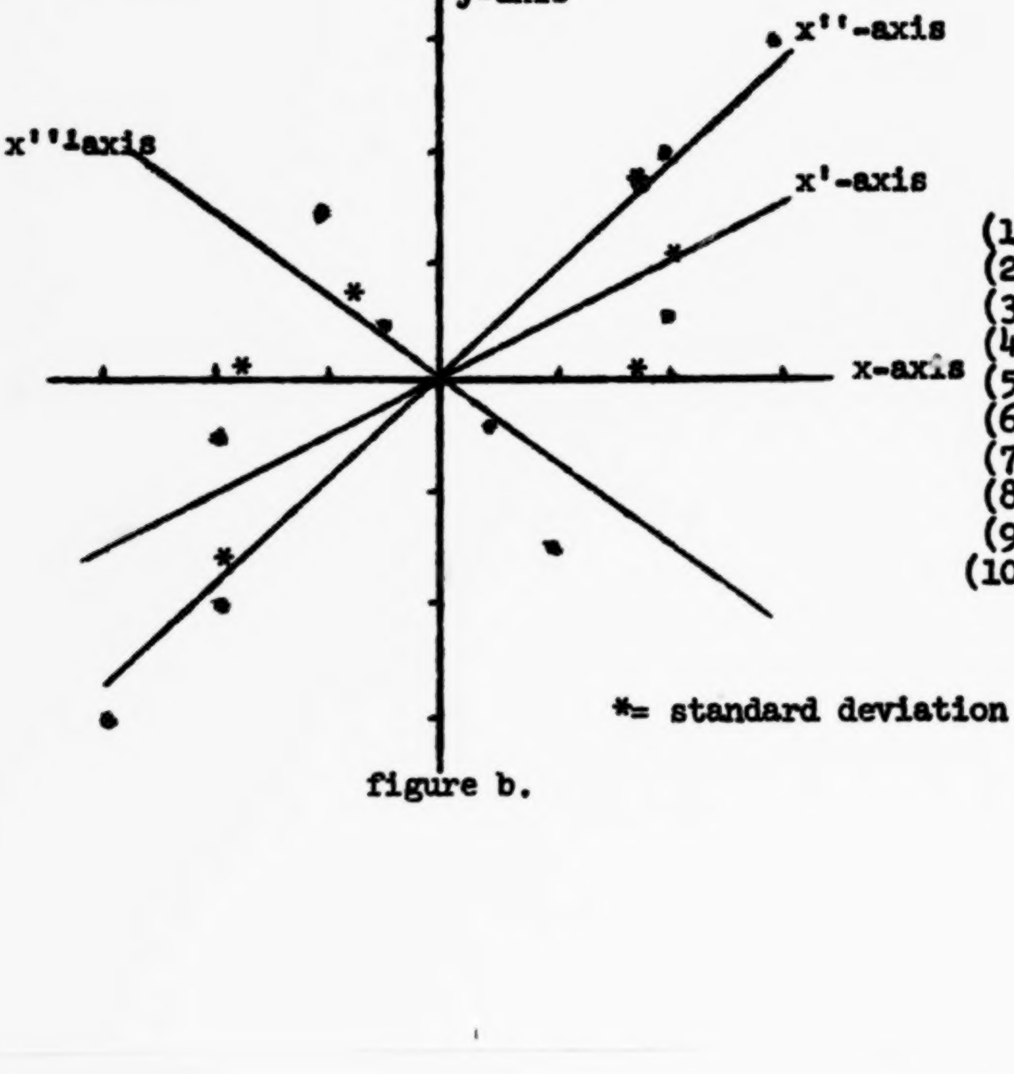


figure a.

Now measure the deviation of each location (indicated by small dots) from the north-south line (Y-axis) passing through the mean center as shown in figure (b).



*= standard deviation

figure b.

Table 1
Deviations along:

	x-axis	x'-axis	x''-axis	x'''-axis
(1)	3.0	4.0	4.2	0
(2)	2.0	2.5	3.0	0
(3)	2.0	2.0	1.5	-1.1
(4)	-1.0	- .2	.4	1.6
(5)	- .5	- .2	0	- .7
(6)	-2.0	-2.0	1.5	1.1
(7)	-2.0	-2.5	3.0	0
(8)	-3.0	-4.0	-4.2	0
(9)	- .5	.5	0	.7
(10)	1.0	.5	- .4	1.6

Following the procedures of linear statistics, calculate the standard deviation along the X-axis as shown above. Each deviation is then marked off on the appropriate axis. Now rotate the axes and recalculate the deviations as shown in Table 1.

figure c.

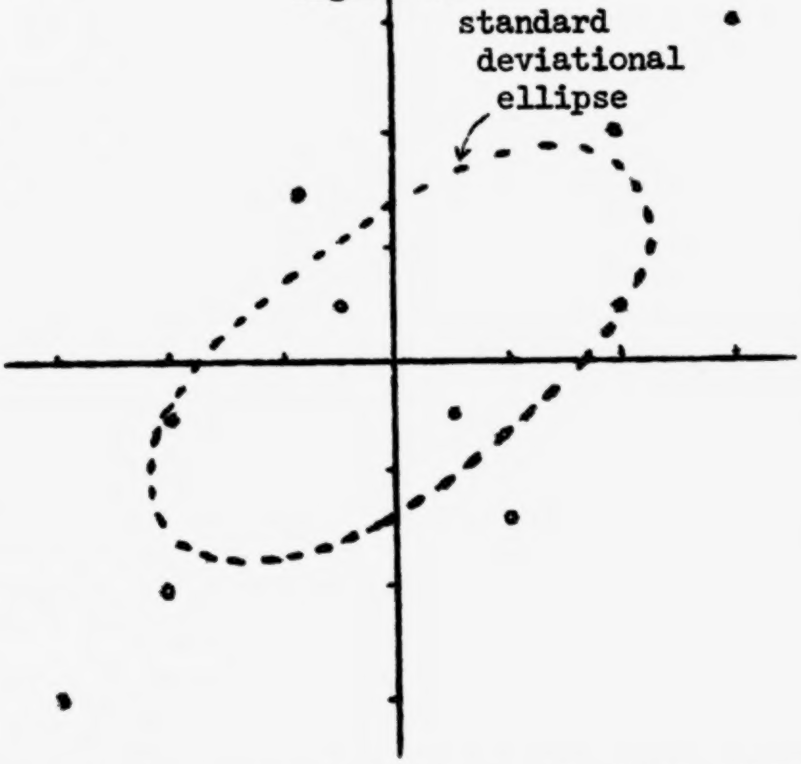


Table 2
Calculated Standard Deviations
along:
x-axis.....1.91 = dx
x'-axis....2.31 = dx'
x''-axis...2.41 = dx''
x'''-axis.. .93 = dx'''

where Standard Deviation = $\sqrt{\frac{\sum x^2}{N}}$

where N = number of unit-locations

These new deviations dx', dx'', dx''' (Table 2) are then placed on the axes as in figure (b). Figure (c) is a composite showing the location of the deviations calculated for each set of axes. As indicated by the dashed line, the trace of the figure established by these calculations is an ellipse. The outline of the ellipse is determined by the standard deviations along a rotating set of orthogonal axes --- hence the name standard deviational ellipse.

It is readily apparent that the size of the ellipse is functionally related to the distribution of the phenomenon represented by the dots on a map. If the phenomenon is widely distributed over the area then the size of the ellipse will be relatively greater than that for a distribution which is closely "packed". Thus, if we wish to compare the relative distribution of two phenomena we merely have to calculate a standard deviational ellipse for each and compare the sizes of the resulting figures.

It is also interesting to note that the standard deviational ellipse offers us even more information concerning the nature of the areal dispersion. This is provided through an examination of the "tilt" (inclination of the major axis) of the ellipse. This inclination indicates the "locational trend" of the phenomenon under investigation.

In addition to the above summary information provided by the ellipse, it may also be profitable in some cases to have an indication of the "form" of the scatter. This is provided by the ratio of the minor to the major axis of the ellipse. Thus, if a distribution were entirely random, we would obtain a value of 1.0 for the distribution (minor axis = major axis) and in this case our "ellipse" would become a circle. On the other hand as the distribution becomes more linear the ratio would become smaller and smaller. A comparison of ratios of two or more distributions would give us some indication of the form of dispersion of the phenomenon.

In discussing the mean center, mention was made of several limits encountered in its use. The standard deviational ellipse is also not without its limits.

Probably the most notable limit of the ellipse is that it fails to show how separate units are scattered from the center in a given direction. This, however, is very easily surmounted by merely dividing the ellipse into sectors and counting the units located in each. Once tabulated, the sectors could then be drawn proportionate in size to the number of units in each, or numerous other methods could be devised to illustrate the scatter in a particular direction.

Another limit of the "ellipse" sometimes alluded to is that if the points to be included in the analysis all lie in a straight line, the "ellipse" becomes a "bicircular quartic" and fails to provide a profitable summary measure of the distribution. This criticism appears weak on two counts. First, if the locations are in a straight line this should be obvious to the investigator and another type of analysis (nearest neighbor, etc.) should be employed. On the other hand, if the investigator was unaware of the nature of the distribution, the appearance of a bicircular quartic would be an indication that the distribution is, in fact, linear. It seems then, that the appearance of a bicircular quartic cannot really be described as the limit of the ellipse.

It is apparent that in the application of the standard deviational ellipse and mean center as summary measures, one must be aware of limits in order to obtain the most meaningful results. This situation is not peculiar to these techniques and must be dealt with in most, if not all, types of scientific analyses.

Procedures and Analyses

When respondents were interviewed they were asked (and assisted) to indicate on a specially prepared map the locations of meeting places of all formal associations they belonged to, as well as the residence locations of all friends, neighbors, relatives, and co-workers with whom they interacted. In this manner point locations were derived for all formal and informal associational activities of each respondent. By applying a grid to these maps during the coding procedure, coordinates were obtained and punched into cards. A computer was programmed to provide a standard deviational ellipse for each respondent or for any group (aggregate) of respondents desired.[24]

---

[24] Implementation of the technique and computer program for the standard deviational ellipse analysis was provided by Mr. Frank Rens and Mr. Gary Shannon in cooperation with Professors J. D. Nystuen and W. R. Tobler, of the University of Michigan's Department of Geography.

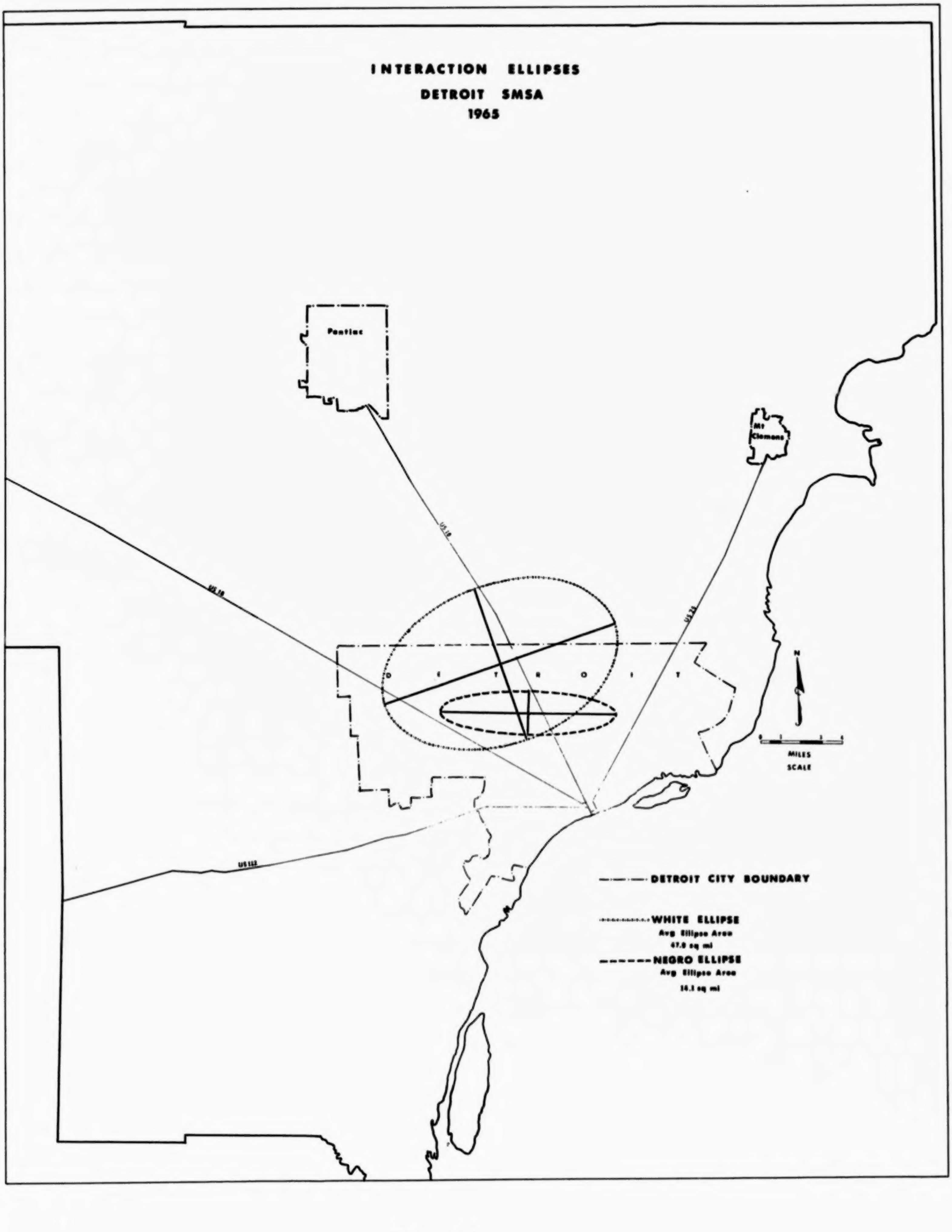

INTERACTION ELLIPSES
DETROIT SMSA
1965
Pontiac
Mt Clemens
US 10
US 16
US 25
US 112
DETROIT
N
MILES
SCALE
DETROIT CITY BOUNDARY
WHITE ELLIPSE
Avg Ellipse Area
47.0 sq mi
NEGRO ELLIPSE
Avg Ellipse Area
14.1 sq mi

Figure 1

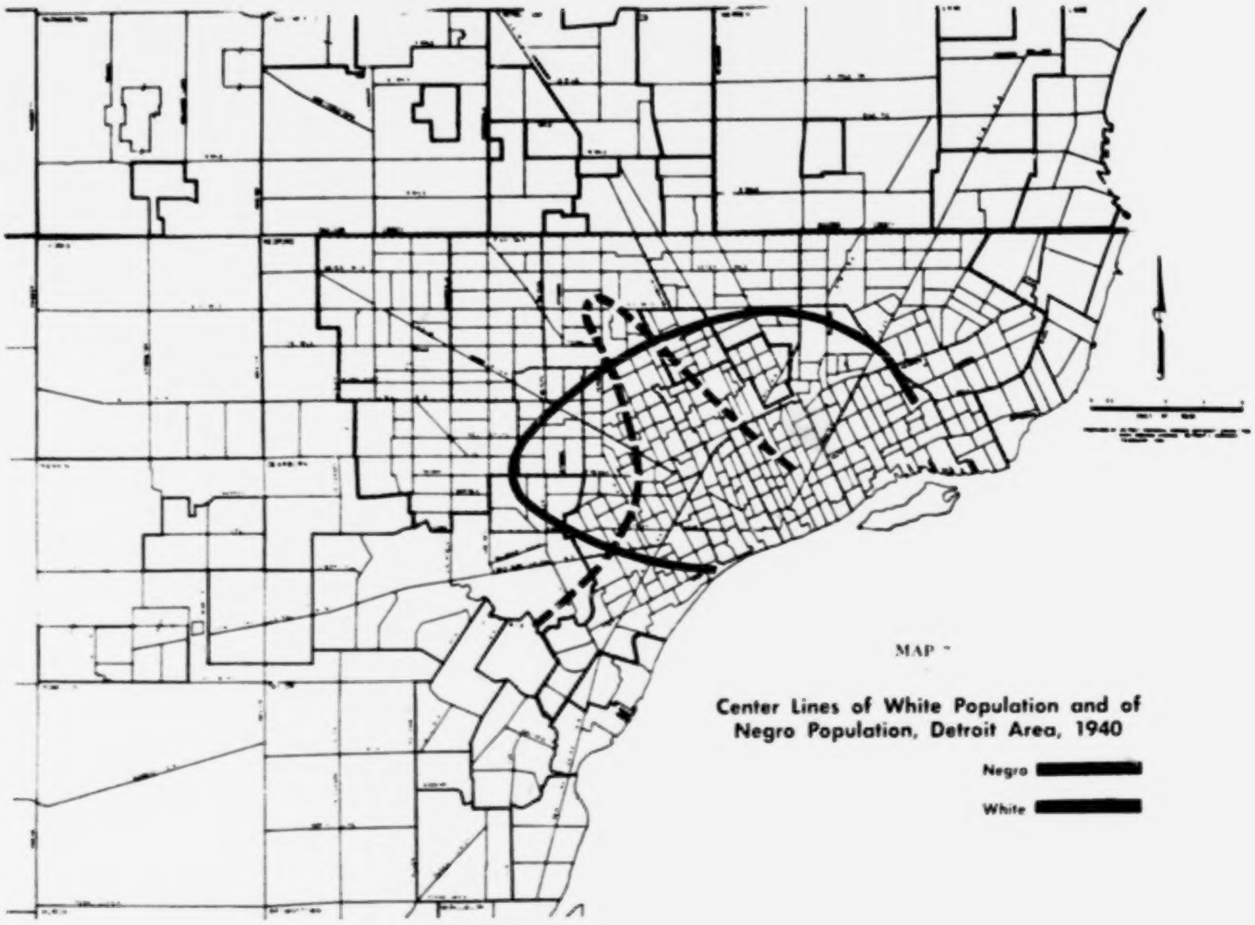
Negro Interaction is Compressed in Urban Space

Figure 1 portrays the interaction ellipses of whites and Negroes in the Detroit SMSA. In addition to designating the mean center of meeting points for both Negroes and whites (shown as the point of intersection of the major and minor axes), the mean average interaction area is also provided. The area of the mean ellipse for whites is 48 square miles, while the area of the mean ellipse for Negroes is 14 square miles. It may therefore be observed that the associational area is approximately three and a half times more expansive for whites than it is for Negroes. Moreover, the center points of these two ellipses are approximately three miles apart, although most of the Negro ellipse area overlaps with (into) the white ellipse area. A three dimensional model now being constructed will permit us a more complete view of the spatial aspects of the racial segregation. Although the data do not permit us to determine which associational contacts are racially integrated and which are racially segregated we will be provided with an indication of the physical separation and juxtaposition of Negro and white associational contacts.

Segregated Residence and Segregated Interaction

An indication of the degree of segregation of white and Negro populations may be obtained without referring to a three dimensional model. By application of the mean center analysis discussed earlier we can determine the extent to which patterns of residence are segregated and concomitantly the extent to which patterns of urban residence are associated with the interaction gap between Negroes and whites.

In 1962 two sociologists at Wayne State University in Detroit computed the center of Negro population and the center of white population for each of

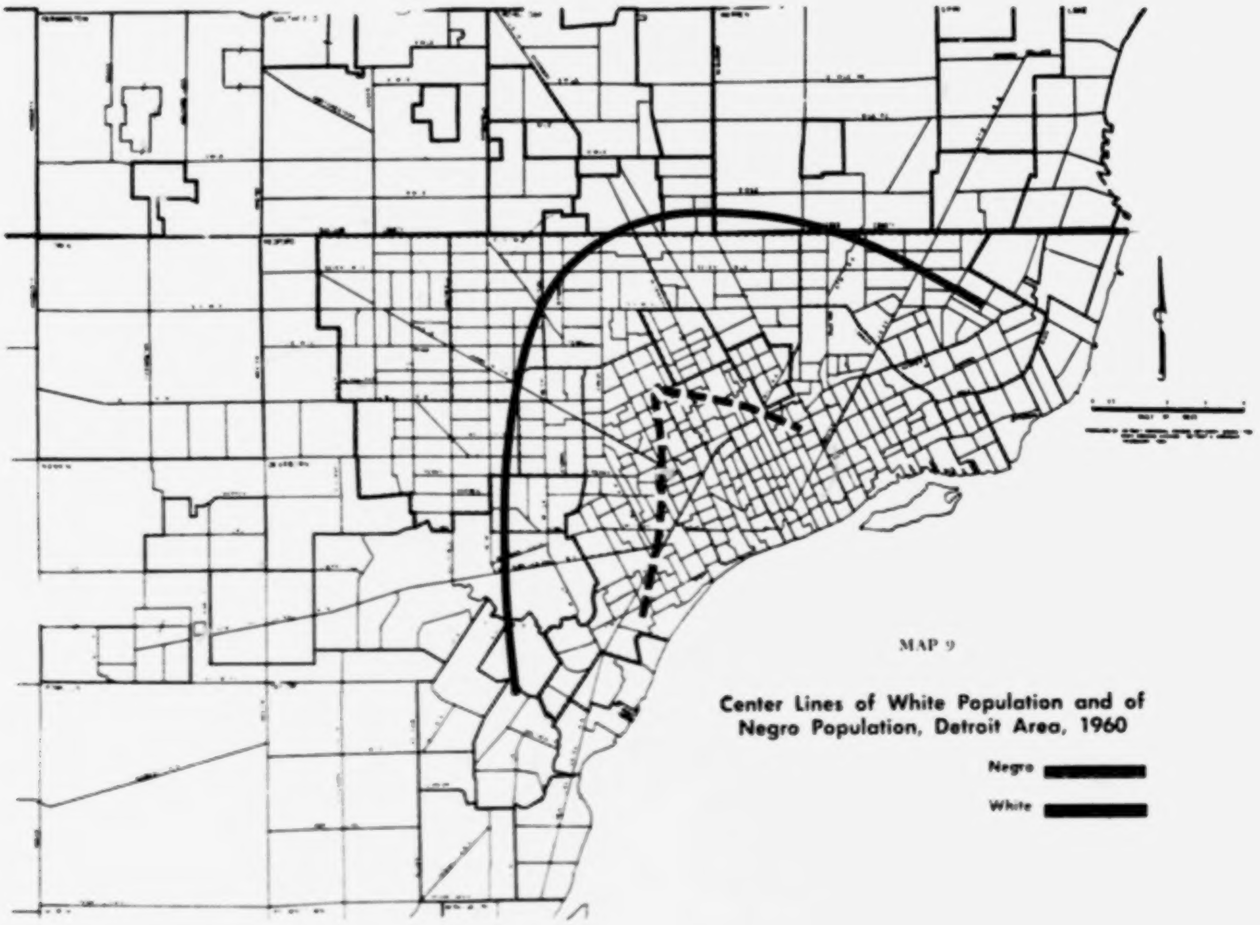


MAP 7

Center Lines of White Population and of Negro Population, Detroit Area, 1940

Negro ▬

White ▬



MAP 9

Center Lines of White Population and of Negro Population, Detroit Area, 1960

Negro ▬

White ▬

Figure 2

the five major sectors of the Detroit area, Figure 2.[25] These sectors are the pie-shaped sections in the Detroit SMSA defined by the Detroit River and the major transportation radials of Michigan Avenue, Grand River Avenue, Woodward Avenue, and Gration Avenue. When a line is drawn from each of the center points of white population in each of these sectors, a "center line of white population" is established. By repeating this procedure for the five center points of Negro population, a "center line of Negro population" is established. Mayer and Hoults findings are reproduced in Figure 2. The authors explain that Detroiters are more segregated in their housing today than they were two decades ago because:

> As Detroit's Negro population has increased it has spilled out to occupy housing available in adjacent areas. And, since the increase has been constant (due to an excess of births over deaths and to a high in-migration rate) the "spilling" process has been constant. Thus, many Caucasisan neighborhoods have been "invaded," giving rise to the idea that those who believe in integrated housing were being fulfilled at last.
>
> But what has actually occurred is that the specific position only, not the existence or the relative location of what may be termed the "Black Ghetto" walls has been altered by internal pressure. In addition, the wall has become increasingly impenetrable.[26]

This report indicates further that if Negroes and whites were involved in any significant numbers in a move toward integrated housing, the center lines of the two populations would tend to converge as a reflection of this move. Instead, there appears a constantly widening gap between the center lines of these two population, indicating that segregated housing in the Detroit area is increasing rather than decreasing.

In the present study a further question may be posed. To what extent is segregated housing associated with segregated interaction?

---

25. Albert J. Mayer and Thomas F. Hoult, "Race and Residence in Detroit", Institute for Regional and Urban Studies, Wayne State University, 1962.

26. _Ibid._ p. 1.

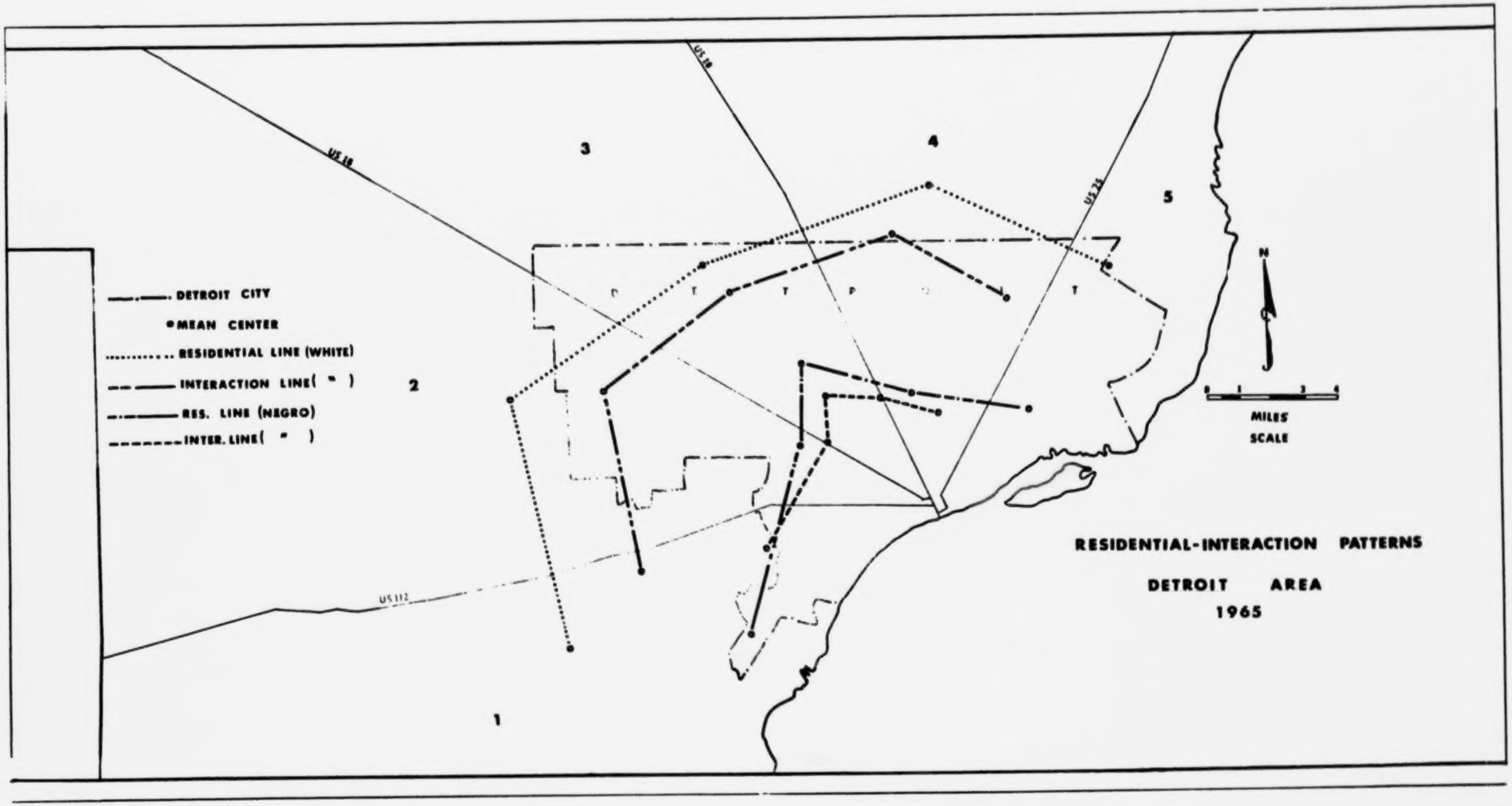

DETROIT CITY
MEAN CENTER
RESIDENTIAL LINE (WHITE)
INTERACTION LINE(")
RES. LINE (NEGRO)
INTER. LINE(")
US 18
US 112
US 25
1
2
3
4
5
D E T R O I T
N
0 1 2 3 4
MILES
SCALE
RESIDENTIAL-INTERACTION PATTERNS
DETROIT AREA
1965

Figure 3

In Figure 3, the technique employed by Mayer and Hoult for determining the center line of population has been repeated with our 1965 data. In addition, however, the procedure for determining the center line of population has been utilized for determining the center line of interaction. That is, the center point of meeting places for all Negro associational activities (formal associational meeting points) has been computed for each of the five major sectors. When these points are connected, a "center line of Negro interaction" is established. A similar operation has been repeated for whites.

If one is to consider the relationship of the residential lines of interaction for Negroes and whites to the interaction lines of Negroes and whites, several possibilities emerge. Of greatest moment, perhaps, is the possibility of Negro and white residential and interaction lines harboring a parallel type of relationship, as against the possibility of Negro and white interaction lines tending toward convergence. In simpler terms, if residential segregation is associated with segregated interaction, we should find some form of parallelism in the housing and interaction lines. This is precisely what Figure 3 reveals. It would therefore appear that segregated residence and segregated interaction are associated phenomena.

The factor of compression of Negro interaction and a related pattern of residential segregation raises a corollary question. In what manner is poverty distributed in the Detroit SMSA? Federal agencies engaged in the War on Poverty are concerned with the relative concentrations of low income families among such geographical areas as states, cities, and counties.[27] Defficiency and equity in the distribution of limited funds available are among the reasons for interest in such analyses.

---

27. One such analysis has been provided by A. I. Winard, U. S. Bureau of the Census "Characteristics of Families Residing in Poverty Areas Within Large Metropolitan Areas," Paper contributed to the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Cincinnati, Ohio, April 1967.

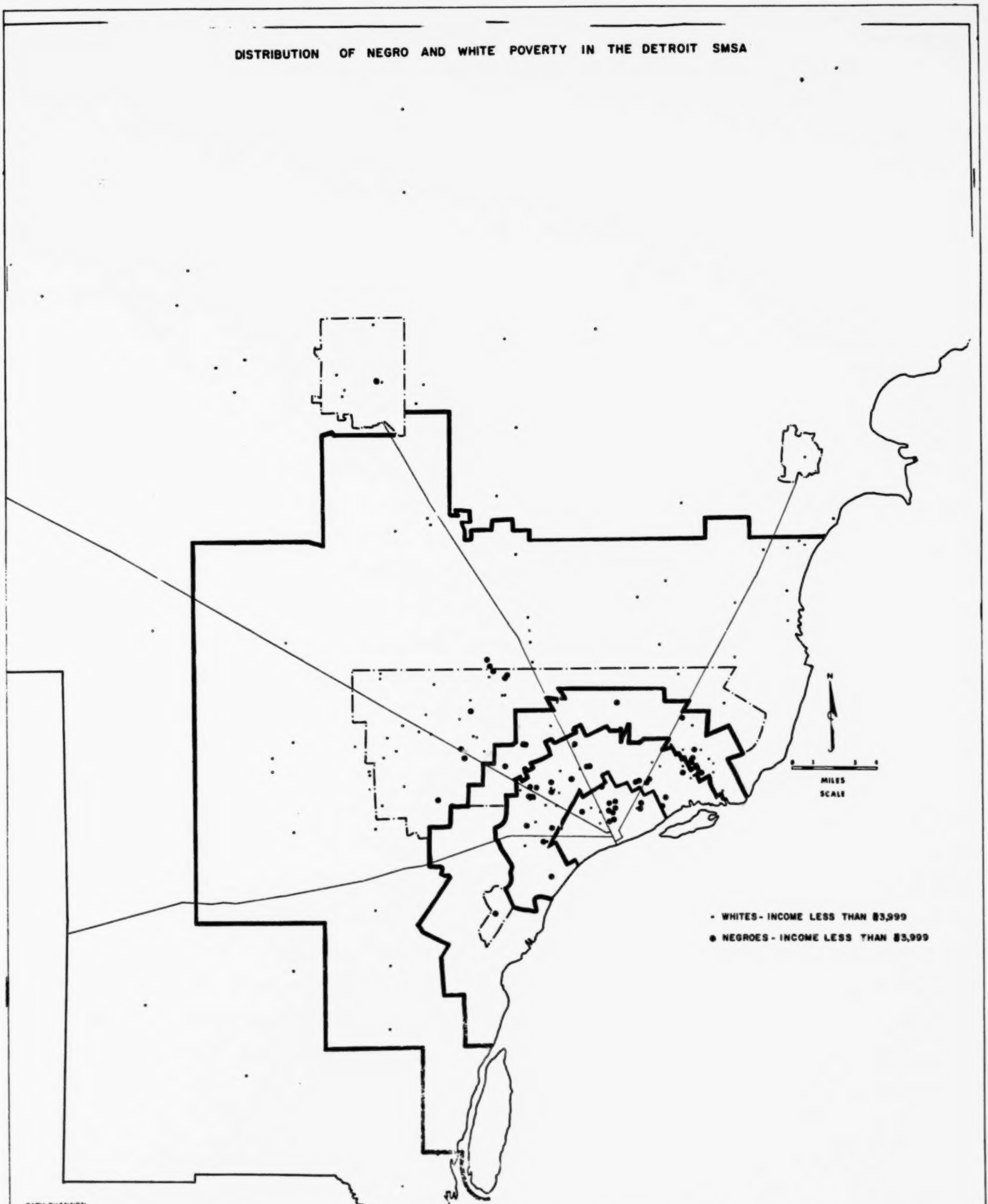

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO AND WHITE POVERTY IN THE DETROIT SMSA
N
MILES
SCALE
• WHITES- INCOME LESS THAN $3,999
● NEGROES- INCOME LESS THAN $3,999
GARY SHANNON

Figure 4

A poverty index[28] was applied to the sample of respondents in the Detroit SMSA, with the result that 10 per cent of the white households fell into the poverty classification, compared with 28 per cent of the Negro households. In terms of the total numbers of poverty households, more whites are so classified (60 percent) than are Negroes. This, of course, is due to the higher percentage of whites in the population.

When the residence locations of the poverty households were spread on a map of the Detroit SMSA, the result is as appears in Figure 4. Negro poverty is compressed — white poverty is expanded in urban space.

The preceding figures have provided some graphic illustrations of a pronounced compression of Negro life in the Detroit SMSA, and a segregated pattern of residence which is paralleled by segregated interaction. Moreover, one may harbor some suspicion that the interaction gap is widening along with the potentiality for seriously diminishing the cohesion of this urban community.

---

28. The poverty index employed was based upon family size-income ratios. The referential source for deriving the index was the Social Security Bulletin, January 1965.

SUMMARY

This chapter has offered the point of view that current conceptualization and measurement of racial segregation is overcommitted to housing as THE basic index of segregation. The appeal is not to dispense with such measures, but to move beyond to other related and perhaps more significant dimensions. Interactionistic measures are advocated as harboring great potential. Specifically, this chapter has presented activity in voluntary associations as illustrative of this point of view.

The major findings is that white members of voluntary associations are strongly status-quo oriented with respect to the racial integration of housing and of schools. While strongest opposition to racial integration comes from the unorganized segment of the white population (i.e., from non-members), the leadership of the white community extant in voluntary groups does not support the idea of change. This position stands in contrast to the posture of association members on school support, wherein members are more supportive than non-members. With respect to the black population, it is interesting to note that plural membership in voluntary associations is related to a strong desire for more rapid social change in the integration of housing and schools. It is the less active or more anomic segment of the Negro population that is more willing to settle for the status quo.

This chapter has also demonstrated the social class involvement in white acceptance of racial integration of neighborhoods. When the possibility of a Negro neighbor as opposed to a white neighbor is spelled out in terms of the social class position of each, white acceptance of the Negro increases with the level of the social class of the Negro. This might lead one to hypothesize that some degree of white fear of integration is an outgrowth of status anxiety. A black neighbor may well be associated in the minds of many as a symbol of status decline. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the finding that college educated persons are more willing to accept integration than are those with less education. One might assume that the college educated are a bit more secure in their sense of status security.

Perhaps the most important part of this chapter is not what is directly reflected in the tables, but lies in what they suggest. If we shift our frame of reference from housing to interaction as the dominant frame of reference, two observations follow. First, membership in voluntary associations is a class and status-related phenomenon. We might therefore reason that if (or when) there is a rather widespread racial integration of such groups, resistance to integrated neighborhoods will quite normally decline. It is reasonable to assume that when people interact with one another on an egalitarian basis, they will take less umbrage at living next door to one another. Secondly, integration of such groups would provide a situation of equal access to grass roots sources of community influence. To exclude Negroes from such groups is to exclude them from full participation in the affairs of the community.

Unfortunately, this study possesses no basic measure of the extent to which associational activities of respondents are carried out in a segregated setting. However, a method was devised to measure interaction areas, and to explore the extent to which housing distributions and interaction distributions are associated. The major finding is that a compressed housing patterns among Negroes is associated with a compressed interaction pattern.

The practical, as well as the theoretical problem which remains is whether integrated housing precedes or follows integrated interaction.

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, SCHOOL SUPPORT, AND RACE

Previous analyses have shown the relative ecological positions of Negroes and whites in the Detroit SMSA. Where Negro residence and interaction is compressed in urban space, white residence and interaction is dispersed. A situation of differential association exists with respect to the two racial groups. These are the very circumstances which would lead us to anticipate some major differences in the value systems of the two groups. It is therefore pertinent to ask: "Do Negroes and whites expect different things of education for their children?" "To what extent do Negroes and whites differ in the level of support they accord the schools?" Two opposing sets of hypotheses might be offered to tentatively answer these questions.

If we are to view the present socio-economic circumstances of the Negro population, together with its rural and slave background, it might be reasonable to assume that Negro parents would feel that the occupational outlook for their children is not as bright as it is for whites. Therefore, we might anticipate a lower occupational aspiration for their children, together with a lower level of attitudinal support for education. Lending support to the latter assumption is the fact, already established, that attitudinal support for the schools declines with educational and occupational educational and income levels. Under these circumstances it would seem plausible to hypothesize that a higher proportion of Negro than white parents would expect their children to aspire to skilled blue-collar occupations, or to statuses other than professional, technical, and kindred. This being the case, it might be further anticipated that Negro parents would be less supportive of the schools than whites, since their educational needs would be perceived as being less.

A counter-hypothesis to the foregoing one might also be advanced, however. Robert K. Merton set forth the observation almost twenty years ago that American culture stresses certain goals for all to follow. His discussion of the "success prototypes" is followed by this observation:

> Thus the culture enjoins the acceptance of three cultural axioms. First, all should strive for the same lofty goals since these are open to all; second, present seeming failure is but a way-station to ultimate success; and third, genuine failure consists only in the lessening or withdrawal of ambition.[1]

The framework set forth by Merton was actually designed to provide an approach to the analysis of social and cultural sources of deviant behavior. He first postulated a set of culturally defined goals, purposes and interests as legitimate objectives for all to follow. Such goals comprise an "aspirational frame of reference".[2] He continues by indicating that every culture also structures a prescribed set of means for attaining these goals. However, given societies may differ in the emphasis accorded to the achievement of goals, and to the means of attaining them.

If we are to regard the urban school system as an avenue for realizing occupational aspirations, Merton's thesis provides an interesting speculation:

> If concern shifts exclusively to the outcome of competition, then those who perennially suffer defeat will, understandably enough, work for a change in the rules of the game. ...The distribution of statuses through competition must be so organized that positive incentives for adherence to status obligations are provided for every position within the distributive order. Otherwise...aberrant behavior may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations.[3]

---

1. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949, p. 132.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

If Merton's observations are valid, then we might posit an hypothesis opposite to the one previously set forth. In this instance, we would not expect that the social system of the Negro sub-community would promote occupational norms different from the white community—since such norms are part of the "success prototype". Hence, Negro parents would promote high occupational aspirations for their children, and would therefore tend to offer as high a level of support for education as whites.

The following analyses are offered as a means of clarifying some of these points. Three sets of data are presented: the first deals with occupational and income self-satisfaction of Negro and white parents. The second set of tables reveals the occupational aspirations for children of Negro and white parents. The third set of tables reveals the willingness of Negro and white adults to support school millage proposals.

A. OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME SATISFACTIONS OF NEGRO AND WHITE RESIDENTS

Ours is a society which places a high premium on economic affluence and occupational achievement. It is therefore a matter of importance to know the extent to which feelings of frustration are created when such goals are not attained. Among the alternative reactions to widespread and deep frustration of this type, the following two possibilities are of interest: 1) seek to change the rules of the game, as Merton indicates, via crime, "rebellion", or some other socially disapproved means, or 2) project parental ambitions for economic and occupational success upon the children and hope to experience rewards vicariously.

Table 75 presents the background facts of occupational distributions among Negroes and whites in the Detroit area. The greatest difference between Negroes and whites lies in the very low Negro percentage of professional, technical, and kindred workers (2 percent) and the very high percentage of Negroes who are unskilled blue collar (38 per cent).

TABLE 75

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, BY RACE, AND BY ZONE

Occupation of Head	Central City		Suburbs
	Negro	White	(White only)
Prof., Tech., & Kindred	2%	9%	17%
Other white collar	15	21	25
Skilled blue collar	23	26	31
Unskilled blue collar	38	19	12
Miscellaneous	20	24	14
D.K. and N.A.	2	1	1
Totals	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	163	283	467

As might be expected, Table 76, page 164, provides evidence of a very large occupational dissatisfaction gap between Negroes and whites. Over half of the whites (54 per cent) are "very satisfied" occupationally, compared with 29 per cent of the Negroes. On the other hand, 28 per cent of the Negroes are unsatisfied with their occupations, compared with 11 per cent of the whites.

TABLE 76

OCCUPATIONAL SATISFACTION, BY RACE

Occupational Satisfaction	White	Negro
Very satisfied	54%	29%
Fairly satisfied	31	40
Fairly unsatisfied	5	14
Very unsatisfied	6	14
D.K. and N.A.	4	3
Totals	100%	100%
Number of cases	750	174

TABLE 77

CHANCES FOR FUTURE JOB SATISFACTION, BY RACE

Future Job Satisfaction	Central City		Suburbs
	Negro	White	(White only)
Very good	9%	18%	15%
Good	21	9	12
Fair	12	9	4
Poor	19	10	5
Don't know	39	54	64
Totals	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	163	283	467

The "frustration potential" of occupational dissatisfaction may not reach a serious peak, however, unless there is the accompanying feeling of lack of hope for the future. Table 77 on page 164 shows that Negroes have less hope for the future than do whites, and by a 2 to 1 margin. Nine per cent of the Negroes feel chances for future job satisfaction are "very good" compared to 18 percent for the whites; 19 per cent of the Negroes feel their chances are poor, compared to 10 per cent for the whites. Perhaps the most significant part of this table is the moderately optimistic categories of "good" and "fair". Here 1/3 of the Negro cases fall, compared with 18 per cent of the white cases. This might suggest that a large percentage of Negroes are beginning to approach the job market with cautious optimism.

Table 78 below, and Table 79 , page 166, reveal that Negroes are less content with their incomes than are whites. About half of the Negroes feel their income is inadequate, half feel it is adequate. While 16 per cent of the whites feel their income is less than adequate, 69 per cent say it is adequate, and 15 per cent say it is more than adequate.

TABLE 78

PERCEIVED INCOME ADEQUACY, BY RACE

Income Adequacy	Negro	White
More than adequate	2%	15%
Adequate	51	69
Less than adequate	47	16
Totals	100%	100%
Number of cases	174	750

Among those persons who say their income is not adequate, very little difference occurs with respect to impressions of how much more one must earn to make it adequate. Table 79 shows that in this regard, a much higher proportion of Negroes than whites (i.e., 24 and 10 per cent, respectively) say they must earn $3,000 or more to make their incomes adequate.

TABLE 79

ADDITIONAL AMOUNT NEEDED FOR ADEQUATE INCOME, BY RACE

Additional amount needed for Adequate Income Level	Negro	White
$1,000 or less	26%	29%
$1,001 to $2,000	39	43
$2,001 to $3,000	15	15
$3,001 or more	24	10
Totals	100%	100%
Number of cases	73	63

B. OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN

The preceding analysis has disclosed that Negroes, to a considerably greater extent than whites, are dissatisfied with their own occupational and income status in life. Negroes in fact hold far fewer of the culturally desirable types of occupations; and they earn less. Their objective situation is reflected in the preceding measures of discontent. It is worth noting, however, that dissatisfaction with income is greater than dissatisfaction with occupation. While 28 per cent of the Negroes (11 per cent for whites) are dissatisfied with their jobs, 47 per cent (16 per cent for whites) felt their income was not adequate to get along.

With this high level of dissatisfaction with occupation and income, a fundamental question arises concerning the extent to which Negroes will continue to subscribe to the "American dream". Compressed in urban space, interacting on a segregated basis, it would be plausible if Negroes came to the conclusion that the American dream was not for them. It would be quite understandable if many should try to modify the social system in such a manner that provision would be made for a closer correspondence between merit, effort, and reward. Some Negroes, obviously, have charted this course as an answer to their problems. But what of the majority of Detroit Negroes? Do the parents of Negro children, to an equal degree with white parents, still expect their children to "get ahead" and achieve? The answer is yes! Table 80 reveals that a very high percentage of both Negro and white parents want their children to pursue "professional, technical, and kindred" types of occupations. Only 6 per cent of the whites - 5 per cent of the Negroes - want their children to pursue skilled blue collar types of work. This in spite of the fact that only 2 per cent of the present Negro family heads are professional, technical and kindred— and only 14 per cent of the whites are in this category.

TABLE 80

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN, BY RACE

Occupational Aspirations for Children	Race	
	White	Negro
Prof., Tech., & Kindred	72%	67%
Other white collar	12	13
Skilled blue collar	6	5
Unskilled blue collar	1	2
Miscellaneous	6	11
D.K. and N.A.	3	2
Totals	100%	100%
Number of cases	383	92

Moreover, Table 81 reveals that an overwhelming proportion of these same parents feel that their children's chances of achieving these objectives are good. Blue collar Negroes are as optimistic in this regard as are white collar Negroes. Blue collar whites are as optimistic as the Negroes, and white collar whites are more optimistic than any other group.

TABLE 81

PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN'S CHANCES OF ATTAINING STATED OCCUPATIONAL OBJECTIVE, BY RACE, AND BY OCCUPATION

Achievement Likelihood	Negro		White	
	White Collar	Blue Collar	White Collar	Blue Collar
Very good	47%	46%	62%	47%
Fairly good	53	41	28	40
Not so good	0	5	3	6
Poor	0	1	0	1
D.K. and N.A.	0	7	7	6
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	15	76	156	224

Table 82 presents a breakdown by the specific type of professional, technical, and kindred pursuit the parents want their children to pursue. Almost 2/5 of the cases are in the medical - dental and related areas.

TABLE 82

SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS WANT THEIR CHILDREN TO BECOME "PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, OR KINDRED" WORKERS

Occupational Aspirations for children	Number	Percentage
Phys. & Surg; Dentists	74	22%
Other med. & paramed	55	16
Accountants & auditors	4	1
Teach - prim & secondary	68	20
Teach - college; Soc, Sci, Lib, Prin.	2	1
Arch., Chem., Eng., Phy. & Bio Science	60	18
Technicians	22	6
Public advisors	17	5
Lawyers & judges	18	5
Prof., Tech. & Kindred not listed	20	6
Totals		100%
Number of cases	340	

Table 83 below, and Table 84 , page 172, represent income and educational controls. Both factors diminish the intensity of the aspiration level, but even with the diminution, the aspirational levels for children remain remarkably high. For instance, 61 per cent of those parents earning under $3,000 per year want their children to become professional, technical, and kindred workers. Moreover, very few of these same (i.e., 7 per cent) low income parents want their children to become skilled blue collar workers. While the number of cases in this category is small (i. e. 28) it might be indicated that the pattern is consistent with the next higher income

TABLE 83

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN

BY ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME

Occupational Aspirations for Children	Parental Income				
	Under $3,000	$3,000 to $4,999	$5,000 to $9,999	$10,000 to $14,999	$15,000 or more
Prof., Tech., & Kindred	61%	70%	69%	79%	81%
Other white collar	14	12	12	7	12
Skilled blue collar	7	6	7	6	0
Unskilled blue collar	4	0	2	1	0
Miscellaneous	14	6	7	6	7
D.K. and N.A.	0	6	3	1	0
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	28	50	270	84	42

level. Educational level of parents (Table 84) provides the greatest "leveling" of any of our controls, but again it may be observed that a remarkably high proportion (51 per cent) of the least educated parents expect their children to pursue careers as professional, technical, or kindred workers.

TABLE 84

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF PARENT

Occupational Aspirations for Children	Educational Level of Parent					
	Less than 8 years	9-11 yrs.	Complete High Sch.	1-3 yr. College	Complete College	Grad. Study
Prof., Tech., & Kindred	51%	67%	78%	76%	84%	71%
Other white collar	20	15	7	10	5	7
Skilled blue collar	14	6	4	6	0	14
Unskilled blue collar	3	1	1	2	0	0
Miscellaneous	9	8	6	6	11	7
S.K. and N.A.	3	3	3	0	0	0
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	65	127	204	50	19	14

The last table in this analysis, Table 85 , presents a distribution of occupational aspirations for children by concentric zone in the Detroit SMSA. Most people would assume that a rational approach to school curricula would be to concentrate the offerings of skilled crafts training in the inner city areas. This table shows that the value structure of parents in these areas is not in wholehearted accord with this plan.

TABLE 85

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN,
BY DISTANCE ZONES

Occupational Aspirations for Children	Area of Residence				
	Inner City	Outer City	Inner Suburbia	Outer Suburbia	SMSA
Prof., Tech., & Kindred	69%	75%	74%	62%	71%
Other white collar	12	12	10	13	11
Skilled blue collar	7	2	6	9	6
Unskilled blue collar	2	2	1	0	2
Miscellaneous, D.K. and N.A.	9	9	9	16	10
Totals	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	81	124	188	86	479

C. EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT

The two preceding analyses have provided us with a picture in which Negro adults, in comparison with white adults: hold lower status jobs, are less satisfied with their occupational status, are less satisfied with their income, and hold out less hope for their own future. However, the Negro has not given up hope for the future—insofar as his children are concerned. To approximately the same degree as whites, Negroes expect their children to compete and compete successfully for the limited number of professional and technical types of occupation.

This carries us to the final question. Since Negro parents expect as much of education as do white parents, are they as willing as whites to provide support for the schools? The answer to this question may be found in Table 86 . Negroes are more supportive...much more supportive of public education than are whites! Table 86 is based upon the responses of residents living in central city only, since the city boundaries are contiguous with the Detroit Public School system. Where 70 per cent of the Negro population is supportive of the schools, 48 per cent of the whites are supportive. While 14 per cent of the Negroes are outright rejective, 29 per cent of the whites are rejective.

TABLE 86

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT FOR MILLAGE, BY RACE, FOR CENTRAL CITY

Attitudinal Support	Central City (Zones 1-4)	
	Negroes	Whites
Supportive	70%	48%
Ambivalent	16	23
Rejective	14	29
Totals	100%	100%
Number of cases	163	283

Several control procedures failed to dent this picture of solid Negro support for education. For instance, in Table 87 it may be observed that Negroes without children are more supportive of education than are whites with children. Table 88 shows that whereas whites with more than a high school education are more supportive than whites without a high school education, lower educational achievement among Negroes does not seriously decrease support.

TABLE 87

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT FOR MILLAGE, BY RACE, AND BY CHILD INVOLVEMENT FOR CENTRAL CITY

Attitudinal Support Level	Negroes		Whites	
	With Children	Without Children	With Children	Without Children
Supportive	76%	67%	58%	42%
Ambivalent	16	15	17	26
Rejective	8	18	24	32
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	70	93	100	183

TABLE 88

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT FOR MILLAGE, BY RACE, AND BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL FOR CENTRAL CITY

Attitudinal Support for Millage	Negroes		Whites	
	Less than High Sch.	High Sch. and more	Less than High Sch.	High Sch. and more
Supportive	70%	74%	41%	54%
Ambivalent	13	17	22	24
Rejective	17	9	37	22
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	105	57	140	143

In Table 89 it is interesting to note that Negro blue collar workers are more supportive of education than are whites who are professional, technical, or kindred. Table 90 provides an interesting contrast between low income whites and low income Negroes. Among Negroes whose family income is less than $4,000, 65 per cent are supportive of education, while whites of a similar income bracket offer 38 per cent support. It is quite possible, however, that this difference is due to the family life cycle composition of these two groups. There are more older and non-child-rearing people in the white group than in the Negro group.

One interesting sidelight to this differential support of education is the observation that if all of the Negroes should move out of central city, it would probably be quite impossible for the Detroit School System to pass a millage proposal.

TABLE 89

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT FOR MILLAGE, BY RACE, AND BY HEAD'S OCCUPATION, FOR CENTRAL CITY

Attitudinal Support	White					Negro				
	Prof., Tech. & Kindred	Other White Collar	Skilled Blue Collar	Unskil. Blue Collar	Misc.	Prof., Tech. & Kindred	Other White Collar	Skilled Blue Collar	Unskil. Blue Collar	Misc.
Supportive	54%	45%	56%	52%	35%	67%	58%	80%	74%	62%
Ambivalent	19	21	19	24	35	33	21	10	13	22
Rejective	27	34	25	24	30	0	21	10	13	16
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	26	61	73	54	66	3	24	39	62	32

TABLE 90

ATTITUDINAL SUPPORT FOR MILLAGE, BY RACE, AND BY TOTAL FAMILY INCOME FOR CENTRAL CITY

Attitudinal Support	Negroes			Whites		
	Less than $1,000 to $3,999	$4,000 to $9,999	$10,000 to $15,000 or more	Less than $1,000 to $3,999	$4,000 to $9,999	$10,000 to $15,000 or more
Supportive	65%	79%	45%	38%	54%	43%
Ambivalent	20	12	22	26	18	32
Rejective	15	9	33	36	28	25
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	55	92	9	58	157	65

SUMMARY

This chapter has demonstrated that Negro parents harbor the same high occupational aspirations for their children as white parents, but the black population is much more attitudinally supportive of the schools than is the white population. Should all of the Negroes move out of central city, it appears doubtful that the Detroit School System could carry a millage proposal.

Merton's assumption concerning the universality of the success prototype is well borne out in this analysis. Amid a situation of differential interaction and the opportunity to arrive at very different values concerning occupational goals, the expectations of Negro and white parents are remarkably similar. However, the similarity ends with the occupational aspirations. Occupationally, and in terms of income, Negroes are more discouraged than whites about their own status—their own income, and their own future outlook. Hope lies in a better life for their children, and education is apparently seen as a means of achieving better things. Hence, the black community of Detroit is much more supportive of education than is the white community.

Merton has further assumed that aberrant behavior may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations. What, then, is the situation when 72 per cent of the white parents and 67 per cent of the Negro parents aspire for occupations for their children which only 2 per cent of the Negro parents and 9 per cent of the (central city) white parents have themselves achieved? Have these high values transferred to their children, and what will be the response if the present generation of high-aspirers fails in the attempt to reach the culturally prescribed objectives?

In exploring the motivation of Negro and white students in his national study, Coleman reports:

> "When asked whether they wanted to be good students, a higher proportion of Negroes than any other group—over half—reported that they wanted to be one of the best in the class. In every region, a considerably higher proportion of Negroes than of whites gave this response.

And...

> Turing to college plans and aspirations, the pattern is slightly different. A smaller proportion of Negroes than of whites report wanting to go no further than high school. More Negroes report wanting to go to technical, nursing, or business school after college.
>
> ...The concrete plans for college next year expressed by these students show two different tendencies in comparing Negroes with whites: fewer Negroes have definite plans for college, but fewer have definite plans not to attend. This indicates the lesser concreteness in Negroes aspirations, the greater hopes, but lesser plans.[4]

While various studies indicate that the occupational aspirations of high school students do not appear to be as high as those which the parents in this study harbor for their children, there is still little doubt that our society has greatly overstressed narrow occupational objectives. First, it is apparent that our society has overdefined occupational aspirations of the professional type. Secondly, Coleman's observation that "...the lesser concreteness in Negroes aspirations, the greater hopes, the lesser plans", would make it clear that while the society has defined the goals for all to follow, knowledge of the means and possession of the resources for achieving these goals is differentially distributed between Negroes and whites.

---

4. James S. Coleman, et al, Equality of Educational Opportunity, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1966. pp. 278-279

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The first intent of this study is to stress the importance of the community-school relationship as a legitimate domain of educational research. It is desirable to study the psychology and group dynamics of the classroom. It is important to learn more about the processes of learning, or about the internal functioning of the school as a social system. It is equally valid to learn more about the relationship which exists between the community and the school system which serves that community. Our nation, and our metropolitan areas in particular are in the midst of upheaval and change. The school as a social institution must adapt to these changes and contribute to the adjustment process of the entire society. It is particularly important that the institution of education make rapid strides in: 1) providing a sufficient or minimal education for all...in closing the existing educational gap, and 2) learning how to make constant adjustments of curricula to the changing role needs of the society.

The second purpose of the study is to illustrate that the community-school relationship may be effectively pursued through an application of ecological theory and concepts. Such theory helps us to know what to look for in the community, and how to organize data into meaningful patterns. Ecology is a new and rapidly growing field, one yet to find its full complement of applications. It's utility in educational research and its potential in educational administration would seem obvious, and promising.

As for the findings of the study, they all revolve around a central theme—the deconcentration phenomenon. Throughout the nation our central cities have been losing population at the core, rapid growth and selective settlement among whites has occurred at the peripheries of the urban area, and the black population of the central city has been increasing. The implications of these patterns of metropolitan change for educational support constitutes the major analyses of the study. For purposes of summary, the implications of population deconcentration are grouped into four broad topic areas: implications for the central city school system; implications for the suburban school districts; racial integration; and parental aspirations for their children.

1. The Position of the Central City School System

The first analysis of the study is descriptive. It portrays the great unevenness of settlement which has gone on within six concentric distance zones of the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). The first four concentric zones lie within the boundaries of central city and therefore comprise the area of the Detroit Public School system. The last two zones (5 and 6) lie within the suburban area of the SMSA and define a region in which there exists some 93 separate school districts. It may therefore be observed that the ecological position of the Detroit School system is quite different from the educational setting of the suburbs. Where the central city school system must assimilate diversity of settlement into its system and planning, diversity in the suburbs is differently absorbed among the large numbers of separate educational units.

The description of zonal variations in social characteristics is a rich domain of research. While the present study is limited to the implications of such diversity for school support, implications for curricula, recreation, special educational services, and many other areas awaits future analysis. For purposes of exploring school support, the major observations to be made from the zonal distributions are as follows.

As in other metropolitan areas, the core of Detroit's Central city has been losing population steadily. Migration to the suburban zones has been highly selective, consisting of an outgoing tendency on the part of whites, almost exclusively. Moreover, it is the younger, child-rearing, higher income, and more highly educated type of white that is moving outwardly. Chapter III discloses that these characteristics are associated with attitudinal support for the schools. Therefore, the central city school system has been losing a supportive segment of its white population.

On the other hand, the black population which has come to settle in the central city area has clustered most heavily in the first two concentric zones (60 per cent nonwhite), and is rapidly spilling over into the third concentric zone (46 per cent nonwhite). The fourth and last zone of central city is predominantly white (93 per cent). The residents of this zone, moreover, tend to be older residents in the area, homeowners, and only a third have children enrolled in the public schools. These factors are associated with depressed school support.

An examination in Chapter III of the relationship between the zonal distributions of social characteristics and attitudinal support for education (as well as tendency to vote) presents a significant picture. Central city, drained of a fairly large segment of whites with supportive social characteristics, would most probably be in deep trouble with millage proposals were it not for the fact that the proportion of Negroes in the population has increased. Where white support has been lost, black support has been gained. When attitudinal support for the schools is broken down along racial lines, it is discovered that 70 per cent of the Negro population of central city is supportive of the schools compared with 48 per cent for the white population.

While attitudinal support for the schools is an important dimension, it is not definitive. Account must be taken of the tendency to vote. A second analysis of Chapter III discloses that tendency to vote is highly correlated with such factors as length of residence in the community, home ownership status, child enrollment in the public schools, and membership in voluntary associations. Fortunately for the central city schools, it is also associated with race...Negro respondents report voting more frequently than whites.

Analysis of the ecological position of the central city school system with respect to school support has pointed up a very important consideration. Any population may contain a relatively high proportion of people whose characteristics are associated with high attitudinal support, but a depressed tendency to vote in school millage elections. This same population may also contain a minority whose social characteristics are associated with depressed attitudinal support and heightened tendency to vote. This particular combination of characteristics can mean that while a majority of the citizens wish for school support, the minority determines millage proposals. It must be made abundantly clear that this is a social phenomenon...that it gets us nowhere to lay blame for millage defeat at the feet of newcomers to the community, of renters, or those who do not actively participate in community affairs (where they are more likely to hear about elections and be encouraged to participate). This particular "syndrome" is most likely to occur in a community with high mobility. Therefore, when tax disbursements are made on the basis of "effort", it would be working against the facts of normal social process to tie the criterion of effort to the school millage proposal. This would be a deep misunderstanding of social facts, and would result in punitiveness to all of the children of a community set upon by conditions of mobility and change.

As for the future welfare of the central city schools, one might speculate concerning future migration trends. Will the wall of segregated residence in the suburbs begin to crumble and break down? If so, then it would appear reasonable to assume a migration to the suburbs of the younger, child-rearing, better educated and higher income Negroes. In that event, troubles might mount for both the central city school system, and for the migrating Negroes. For the central city school system, this would mean a loss of support which it can ill afford. Millage issues in central city are already nip and tuck affairs. As for the migrating Negroes, if they are absorbed into the outer suburban zones in a random manner, they would simply share the educational fare of the whites in the neighborhoods into which they move. However, if migration to the suburbs for Negroes should follow current patterns, this is likely to mean the growth of suburban satellite ghettoes. The results in this case could be most unfortunate, since the proliferation of school districts in the suburban areas has been accompanied by great competition for a favorable tax base and gerrymandered boundaries. Entering upon the suburban scene at a later date than the whites, the possibilities for the Negro suburban ghetto to procure a sound basis of taxation from industry would be difficult, if not next to impossible. The only remaining possibility would be to severely tax their own bedroom properties. It is of interest that a large satellite Negro ghetto currently exists in the Detroit SMSA, and the school system there has experienced severe economic difficulties.

2. The Ecological Position of the Suburban School Districts

If the facts of social organization have presented the central city school district with one kind of a problem, the facts of social organization in the suburbs present another. In the latter instance, the problem is one of equality of educational support.

Where the diversity of settlement in central city is absorbed by one solitary school district, the diversity of settlement in the suburbs is spread about among 93 separate local educational units. As the suburban rings have grown in population, there has been an accompanying growth in numbers and types of business and industry. Just as other units cluster in urban space, so has business and industry, thereby presenting a situation which has placed the separate school districts in competition for the industrial tax dollar. In brief, if one considers the uneven distributions of high and low residential properties in the suburbs, together with the uneven distribution of business and industry, and then looks at a map of school districts which have been superimposed upon this pattern of diversity, one is looking at a built-in basis for inequalities of educational support.

Chapter IV analyzes this situation via an index of "de-facto support" which is measured by per-pupil expenditures. It is found that the per-pupil expenditures among the 94 school districts of the Detroit SMSA vary more than the per-pupil expenditures among the fifty states of the union.

The question is then posed concerning the extent to which these variations are attributable to differences in attitudinal support among the residents (or to differences in tendency to register and vote in school elections). In order to pursue this analysis, the school districts were divided into high, medium, and low de-facto support districts. It was found that neither attitudinal support, nor voting tendency varied among these three types of school district. In brief, the large inequalities in educational support levels are not attributable to the public sector... to either the attitudes, nor to the voting behavior of the public. By inference, it would appear that these inequalities are direct outgrowths of basic ecological patterns of suburban settlement, combined with a complicated set of factors extant in the political domain. The latter would include gerrymandering practices, and lack of adequate equalization procedures.

The latter part of Chapter IV examines the value structure of residents relative to the principle of equality of educational opportunity, and extent of belief in the principle of locally controlled units of government. Belief in the principle of equality of educational opportunity proved to be universal in the population, 92 per cent "strongly" subscribing to the idea, and another 3 per cent saying it was "fairly important". However, there was also a relatively strong belief that the annexation of small neighboring units of government is not desirable. In brief, this is a situation of paradoxical values which helps account for some of the current difficulties. The value of equality of local control and support exists side by side with a firm belief in equality of educational opportunity. Given the ecological facts of metropolitan areas, the former value works contrary to the latter.

As to the problem of future support of the schools, Detroit area residents feel that homeowners are already carrying their fair share of the burden. Moreover, if fear of federal aid to the schools has been a serious concern in the past, it is not currently so. Over sixty per cent of the people feel that federal support for the local schools is both necessary and desirable.

3. Racial Integration

The problem of segregated schools is ultimately a problem of segregated neighborhoods. Recent efforts to desegregate neighborhoods and schools has received strong support and considerable scanctions from national levels of leadership in religion, education, and government. Since desegregation must be effected at the local community level, a fundamental question centers around the nature of forces in the local community which resist change.

One domain of racial integration which has received comparatively little attention is that of the voluntary association. The leadership potential of members of voluntary associations is considerable with respect to local community affairs. In previous analyses it was observed that members of voluntary associations to a greater extent than non-members are more attitudinally supportive of the schools, and they also tend to vote more frequently. But what is their posture with respect to the racial integration of neighborhoods and schools? Chapter V divulges that association members support the status quo. In the eyes of members, things are "moving about right" in the matter of school desegregation and in the desegregation of housing.

The major thrust of the racial analysis centers around the supposition that it is desirable to shift our frame of reference from housing as a basic measure of integration, to interaction. It is assumed that a community is not truly integrated until the members of the community have access to one another on an ongoing basis of egalitarian communication and interaction. The voluntary association is one domain in which this may occur. It is further assumed that if people have the opportunity to interact on such a basis, they would take little unbrage at living next door to one another.

The latter part of Chapter V is devoted to the development of a centrographic technique which permits measurement of interaction patterns of Negroes and whites in the Detroit SMSA. This analysis indicates that where whites settle and interact on an expanded basis, Negroes reside and interact in a very compressed manner. Negroes interact in an average area of 14 square miles; whites in 48 square miles. Moreover, it is found that patterns of Negro and white residence parallel their interaction patterns. Since residence location and interaction locations are thereby associated, the question may be raised as to which precedes which in time?

Also included in the racial analysis is an examination of the extent to which race and social class become confused in the minds of whites. Since "Negro" in the minds of many whites is synonymous with lower classness, respondents were asked a hypothetical question concerning choices of a neighbor. Paired alternatives, Negro and white, were offered by race. That is, six possible neighbors were mentioned; two upper class (one Negro and one white), two middle class (one Negro, one white), and two lower class (one Negro and one white). Results of this analysis found the white population split, some choosing their hypothetical neighbor primarily on the basis of social class, an equal proportion made their selection primarily on the basis of race, and the rest were more mixed in their reactions. It was therefore concluded that the dimension of social class does, indeed, becloud the issue of racial integration.

4. Parental Aspiration of Parents for their Children

What do parents expect education to do for their children? Has the occupational and income structure of our society presented a situation in which parental aspirations for their children varies with the occupational status of the parents? If this is the case, is it true that parental aspirations for children modifies level of support for the schools. Of particular interest in this analysis are possible variations among Negroes and whites with respect to parental occupation and incomes, present job satisfaction and outlook, aspirations for their children, and willingness to support education.

The major finding of Chapter VI is that high occupational aspirations for children is a very strong cultural value. Emphasis upon obtaining the status of "professional, technical and kindred" type of occupation holds for 72 per cent of the white population, and for 67 per cent of the Negro population. This, in spite of the fact that only about 2 per cent of the Negro parents are of this occupational type, and only about 14 per cent of the whites.

When a comparison is made of the occupational and income satisfaction of Negro and white parents, it is found that in comparison with white adults, Negroes hold lower status jobs, are less satisfied with their income, and hold out less hope for their job future. Hope for the future therefore seems to center around the children. To approximately the same degree as whites, Negro parents expect their children to compete, and compete successfully for the limited professional and technical type occupations. Since their own current status is less satisfying to the Negro parent, it is reasonable to assume that the importance of education is enhanced. This is one possible explanation why Negroes are more supportive of education than whites.

APPENDIX "A"

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

____
Sample No.

COMMUNITY INTERACTION

> Before we begin, it is important to stress that all the information you give will be kept completely confidential. The answers people provide will be combined for various groups of people, such as age groups, so that no answer will be attached to any individual. All information is for statistical use only.

1. Here is a list of the different kinds of clubs and organizations that are found in the Detroit area. (SHOW CARD #1) Which of these kinds of groups do you belong to?

00. Belongs to none → SKIP TO Q.2
01. Labor unions
02. A church
03. Church connected groups
04. Fraternal lodges
05. Veteran's organization
06. Business, civic groups
07. PTA (or PTO)
08. Neighborhood clubs, centers
09. Nationality groups
10. Sports teams
11. Professional groups
12. Political or social action groups
13. Improvement associations
14. Women's clubs
15. Girl Scouts (or Brownies), Boy Scouts)
16. Racial equality groups
17. Clubs for senior citizens
18. Other (Specify) ______________________________

COMMUNITY INTERACTION

FOR EACH CLUB OR ORGANIZATION CHECKED IN Q. 1, ASK THESE QUESTIONS AND CODE AS FOLLOWS AT BOTTOM OF PAGE:

1a. What is the name of the organization?

1b. All together, about how many meetings do you go to in an average month? Would you say you attend:

None a year...............CODE 0 in column 1b
One to eleven a year......CODE 11 in column 1b
One a month...............CODE 1 in column 1b
Two a month...............CODE 2 in column 1b
Three or more a month.....CODE 3 in column 1b

1c. How important is this group to you? Would you say that you are:

Strongly interested .... CODE 1 in column 1c
Somewhat interested .... CODE 2
Not very interested .... CODE 3

1d. If the school board were to ask the citizens of (name community) to vote tomorrow to approve or to disapprove of raising local taxes to meet added school costs, how do you think the members of (name of group) would respond?

The majority would vote yes ...... CODE 1 in column 1c
Half of them vote yes .... CODE 2
Less than half would vote yes .... CODE 3
Inappropriate (i.e., national group) .... CODE 8

1e. (REFER TO MAP) Would you show me on this map just where in the greater Detroit area (Wayne, Oakland, or Macomb counties) the meetings of (name each group) are usually held. (MAKE A LEGIBLE DOT FOR EACH LOCATION AND THEN MAKE THE LETTER "V" FROM THIS DOT BY USING THE DOT AS THE TOP OF THE LETTER "V"...i.e., ·V) (If group meets out of Detroit area, Code 00 in column 1e "zone.")

1a. Organization name	1b. Monthly attendance	1c. Interest	1d. School support	1c. Zone

COMMUNITY INTERACTION

2. Thinking of your (and your spouse's) half dozen or so closest relatives, do they all live here in the Detroit area, most live here, only a few live here, or none live here?

1. All live here SKIP TO Q. 2b
2. Most live here 3. Only a few live here
4. None live here

(IF ANY LIVE AWAY)

2a. What states do they live in? ______________________

____

2b. (IF ANY RELATIVES LIVE HERE) REFER TO MAP. Would you show me here on the map where each of your Detroit area relatives lives? MAKE A LEGIBLE DOT FOR EACH LOCATION. FROM THE DOT, MAKE A LETTER "R"...i.e., •R

3. About how often do you usually get together with any of your relatives other than those living at home with you?

1. Everyday 2. Almost everyday 3.Once or twice a week
4. A few times a month 5. Once a month
6. A few times a year 7. Less Often 8. Never

4. Let us suppose the local school boards where your relatives reside were to ask the citizens of their communities to vote next month to approve or to disapprove of raising taxes locally to meet added school costs. How do you think most of your relatives would respond? Would:

1. The majority of your relatives approve? 9. DK
2. Half of them approve? 3. Less than half approve?

COMMUNITY INTERACTION

5. Apart from organizations and clubs or visiting relatives, some people get together with neighbors, friends, or co-workers just to talk, play cards, or do something else. First of all, how often do you get together outside of work with your or your spouses co-workers?

1. Everyday 2. Almost everyday 3. Once or twice a week

4. A few times a month 5. Once a month

6. A few times a year 7. Less Often 8. Never

6. Suppose the school board where your co-workers (or your spouse's co-workers) live were to ask the citizens in their community to vote next month to approve or disapprove of raising local taxes in order to meet added school costs. Would:

1. The majority of your co-workers approve?

2. About half of them approve?

3. Less than half approve? 9. DK

7. And how often do you get together with your neighbors?

1. Everyday 2. Almost everyday 3. Once or twice a week

4. A few times a month 5. Once a month

6. A few times a year 7. Less Often 8. Never

8. Suppose the local school board were to ask the citizens of (name community) to vote next month to approve or disapprove of raising taxes locally to meet added school costs. How do you think most of your neighbors would respond?

1. The majority would approve 2. Half would approve

3. Less than half would approve 9. DK

COMMUNITY INTERACTION

9. How often do you get together with your friends who are not co-workers or your neighbors?

0. Have no friends who are not co-workers or neighbors

1. Everyday 2. Almost everyday 3. Once or twice a week

4. A few times a month 5. Once a month

6. A few times a year 7. Less often

8. Never SKIP TO QUESTION 10

9a. (ASK ONLY IF R HAS FRIENDS WHO ARE NOT NEIGHBORS OR CO-WORKERS) Suppose the school board where these friends live were to ask them to vote next month to approve or to disapprove of raising local taxes in order to meet added school costs. Would:

1. Most of your friends approve? 2. About half approve?

3. Most of them disapprove? 9. DK

10. Thinking now of all of your and your spouse's close friends, how many of them are also:

Co-workers______________ Neighbors______________

Belong to the same church as you______________________

Belong to same union local____________________________

Belong to some other club or organization as you_________
(other than church or union)

Not members of any organizations you belong to__________

Has no close friends in the Detroit area_______________

11. (REFER TO MAP) Would you show me where each of your friends (not neighbors), including those who are your or your spouse's co-workers, live? MAKE A LEGIBLE DOT FOR EACH LOCATION. EXTEND THE DOT TO FORM THE LETTER "F"...i.e.,

COMMUNITY INTERACTION: COMMUNICATION

12. Have you received any literature or pamphlets explaining school activities or programs from your local public school during the past year?

1. Yes   2. No ⟶ SKIP TO Q. 13

12a. And did you have time to read any of this literature?

1. Yes ↓   2. No ⟶ SKIP TO Q. 13

12b. What were your impressions of this literature?

____

____

____

13. What newspapers do you subscribe to or regularly read?

1. Detroit News   2. Detroit Free Press

3. A local paper (specify)______________

4. Other newspapers (specify)______________

14. How frequently do you listen to news reports on your radio and/or TV?

1. At least once a day   2. Several times a week

3. Once or twice a week   4. A few times a month

5. Once or twice a month   6. Less than this

15. Do you feel that the people in your community were kept adequately informed about basic issues during the last school millage or bond election?

1. Yes   2. No   9. DK

COMMUNITY SERVICES AND TAXATION

We are now going to talk about the different kinds of taxes which people pay and the kinds of services which our tax dollars provide.

Here is a list of some of the services which local governments often provide. Thinking of your and your family's needs, would you say that each of the following services is very important, fairly important, not very important, or not important at all?

	Very Imptnt	Fairly Imptnt	Not very Imptnt	Not Imptnt at all	DK
1. The building and upkeep of local streets and roads..	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
2. The building and upkeep of sidewalks..................	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
3. Providing parks and playground facilities.......	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
4. Collecting trash and garbage....................	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
5. Providing welfare aid.......	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
6. Building, maintaining, operating public schools	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
7. Providing library facilities.	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
8. Providing city planning, (zoning, slum clearance, etc.)......................	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
9. Providing bus and transit services....................	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
10. Providing police protection..	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
11. Providing fire protection....	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
12. Providing parking facilities..................	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
13. Providing a sewage system....	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/
14. Providing a water system.....	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/9/

15. And are there other services which local governments may provide that we have not listed here, and which you consider to be important? (List and indicate how important.)

____

____

COMMUNITY SERVICES AND TAXATION

Would you review this list and make a judgment as to whether (name community) should spend much more, a little more, the same amount, a little less, or much less than it now spends on each of the following services?

	Much More	A Little More	Same Amt.	A Little Less	Much Less	DK
16. The building and upkeep of local streets and roads...	1	2	3	4	5	9
17. The building and upkeep of sidewalks..............	1	2	3	4	5	9
18. Providing parks and playground facilities.....	1	2	3	4	5	9
19. Collecting trash and garbage	1	2	3	4	5	9
20. Providing welfare aid......	1	2	3	4	5	9
21. Building, maintaining, operating public schools	1	2	3	4	5	9
22. Providing library facilities	1	2	3	4	5	9
23. Providing city planning, (zoning, slum clearance, etc.).....................	1	2	3	4	5	9
24. Providing bus and transit services..................	1	2	3	4	5	9
25. Providing police protection	1	2	3	4	5	9
26. Providing fire protection..	1	2	3	4	5	9
27. Providing parking facilities.....................	1	2	3	4	5	9
28. Providing a sewage system..	1	2	3	4	5	9
29. Providing a water system...	1	2	3	4	5	9

30. And are there other services which local governments may provide funds for that we have not listed here and which are important? (List and indicate how much more (or less) should be spent.)

COMMUNITY SERVICES AND TAXATION

31. Generally speaking, do you feel that (name the community) offers its citizens too few, the right amount, or too many services?

1. Too few   2. Right amount   3. Too many   9. DK

31a. (IF "TOO FEW") and what services do you feel should be added?

31b. (IF "TOO MANY") And what services should be eliminated?

32. If you were to sum up your feelings about the services which are provided you and your family by the local government in relation to the local taxes you pay, would you say that you are getting:

1. More than your money's worth   2. Your money's worth

3. Less than your money's worth   9. DK

33. Compared with other communities in this area, would you say that the local property taxes here in (name the community) are:

1. Much higher than average

2. A little higher than average   3. Average

4. A little lower than average

5. Much lower than average   9. DK

COMMUNITY SERVICES AND TAXATION

As the number of children to be educated continues to increase, local communities will have to raise more money to build and to operate their schools. There are three major ways in which this problem might be approached.

1. Increase the general property tax
2. Provide some form of city income tax, or
3. Request the state or federal government to divert more tax monies to local governments.

34. Thinking about taxation here in (name the community), when more funds are needed to build and operate the schools, as a general principle would it be best to:

☐ 1. Increase local property taxes

☐ 2. Create a city income tax? ☐ 9. DK

☐ 3. Get more money from the state government in Lansing?

☐ 4. Get more money from the federal government in Washington?

☐ 5. A combination of these (check two or more boxes above)

35. Comparing the share of property taxes paid by homeowners with the share of property taxes paid by business and industry here in (name community), would you say that the homeowners are paying:

☐ 1. More than their fair share ☐ 2. Their fair share

☐ 3. Less than their fair share ☐ 9. DK

COMMUNITY SERVICES AND TAXATION

35a. Comparing the share of property taxes paid by homeowners with the share of property taxes paid by business and industry here in (name community), would you say that business and industry is paying:

1. More than its fair share?　2. Its fair share?

3. Less than its fair share?　9. DK

36. Some communities have tried to solve their financial problems through a city income tax. One type of city income tax charges all citizens living in the community a set amount (such as one percent) of their annual income. How do you feel about this kind of local tax. Do you:

1. Strongly approve?　2. Approve?　3. Disapprove?

4. Strongly disapprove?　9. DK

36a. Another type of city income tax is collected only on the incomes of those people who work in the city but who do not live in the city. How do you feel about this kind of local tax. Do you:

1. Strongly approve?　2. Approve?　3. Disapprove?

4. Strongly disapprove?　9. DK

37.

> Some people feel that the local property tax is already too high and future school needs cannot continue to be met by further increases in local property taxes. Other people feel this is not true. Thinking about the property taxes here in (name community), would you agree or would you disagree with these two statements?

37. "Property taxes assessed against private homes in this community are already too high and should not be increased." Do you:

1. Agree?　2. Disagree?　9. DK

37a. "Property taxes assessed against business and industrial property in this community are already too high and should not be increased." Do you:

1. Agree?　2. Disagree?　9. DK

COMMUNITY SERVICES AND TAXATION

38. Some people are of the opinion that the American people have too many small units of local government (that is towns, cities, townships, and so forth) and that things would work better if many of these smaller units would join together. Other people disagree with this idea. As a general principle, how do you feel about smaller units of government joining together or "annexing"? Do You:

/1. Strongly agree?/ /2. Agree?/ /3. Disagree?/

/4. Strongly disagree?/ /9. DK/

38a. How would you feel about your own local government here in (name community) annexing with one or more neighboring units of local government? Would you:

/1. Strongly approve?/ /2. Approve?/ /3. Disapprove?/

/4. Strongly disapprove?/ /9. DK/

38b. And why do you feel this way? ____________________

____

____

____

39. If the local public schools in Michigan should receive increasingly larger sums of money from the state, rather than from local tax monies, what would be the best way for the state to get added tax money for education? Would it be best to get such money through:

/1. Increasing the state sales tax?/

/2. A state income tax?/

/3. Increasing the corporation tax?/

/4. An increase in "nuisance" taxes; i. e., taxes on cosmetics, tobacco, phone calls, beer, etc.? /

/5. Other?/ (specify) ____________________

____

____

COMMUNITY SERVICES AND TAXATION

39a. And what would be the second best way for the state to get added tax money for education?

/1. Increasing the state sales tax?/

/2. A state income tax?/

/3. Increasing the corporation tax?/

/4. Increasing "nuisance" taxes; i.e., taxes on /
/ cosmetics, tobacco, phone calls, beer, etc.?/

/5. Other?/ (specify) ______________________

____

____

40. Two types of state income tax are possible. One type, the flat income tax, would require all persons to pay a certain fixed per cent--such as three per cent--of their yearly income to the state. A second type, the graduated income tax--would require all persons to pay in proportion to their yearly income...the higher the income, the higher the percentage. For instance, persons of low income might pay one per cent of their earnings in taxes, while persons of high income might be required to pay as much as five per cent.

In your estimation, which of these two types of state income tax is the most desirable?

/1. The flat income tax/ /2. The graduated income tax/

/3. Both are equally desirable/ /9. DK/

COMMUNITY SERVICES AND TAXATION

41. Do you feel that it will become increasingly necessary for the federal government in Washington to provide financial assistance for public schools or do you feel that there are other ways to meet rising school costs, such as increases in state or in local taxes?

/1. Federal aid/ /2. Other/ /9. DK/

41a. What other ways did you have in mind? Increasing taxes at the local level; at the state level; or what:

/1. Local?/ /2. State?/ /3. Other?/ (specify) ______

______

______

42. As to its desirability, would you say that federal aid to public schools is very desirable, desirable, has equally good and bad features, is undesirable, or is very undesirable?

/1. Very desirable/ /2. Desirable/ /3. Equally good and bad/

/4. Undesirable/ /5. Very undesirable/ /9. DK/

42a. And why do you feel this way? ______

______

______

______

______

43. If federal aid to public schools should increase in the next few years, do you feel that such aid should include private and parochial schools?

/1. Yes, should include/ /2. No, should not include/

/9. DK/

FAMILY NEEDS

> If tax dollars are to be spent wisely, and if school programs are to be made more useful, it is necessary that we get an accurate picture of the different kinds of problems which families in the greater Detroit area share.

1. It is very important for us to learn how many people in the greater Detroit area share various types of physical disabilities. Here is a simple list of some common types of physical impairments. Do you, or other members of your family have:

A. Any limitation or trouble with eyesight? /1. Yes/ /2. No/

B. Any limitation or trouble with hearing? /1. Yes/ /2. No/

C. Any limitation in walking or getting about, or any limitation in the full use of hands and arms? /1. Yes/ /2. No/

D. Any other kind of health problem, particularly one which affects school work or employment in any way?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/

(SPECIFY)______________________________

(IF ANY OF THE ABOVE ARE CHECKED "YES"

1a. How many family members have one or more physical disabilities? _______

1b. Is (are) the family members: /1. Pre-school age?/

/2. School age?/ /3. Older?/

1c. To what extent does the impairment influence school work?

____

____

____

1d. Is the child:

/1. In school; no special class?/

/2. In school; special class?/

/3. At home full time?/

1e. To what extent does the impairment influence the ability to work; to get a job?

____

____

1f. Is the person:

/1. Working full time?/

/2. Working part time?/

/3. Unemployed?/

(How long? _________)

FAMILY NEEDS

2. It is important for us to get an accurate count of the number of families in the greater Detroit area that have one or more mentally retarded family members. Are any members of this family retarded?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/ → SKIP TO QUESTION 3

↓
(IF YES)

2a. How many members of the family have this handicap?

/1. One/ /2. Two/ /3. Three/ /4. Four/ /5. Five/ /6. Six or more/

2b. Sex	2c. Age	2d. Current situation
________	________	________
________	________	________
________	________	________
________	________	________
________	________	________
________	________	________

2d. For each of the above handicapped persons, indicate in column 2d above if he (she) is:

1. At home all day? (code 1)
2. Employed? (code 2)
3. In an institution? (code 3)
4. Attending school, but in a special class? (code 4)
5. Attending school and NOT in a special class? (code 5)

FAMILY NEEDS

3. Some people feel it is important for the community to provide psychological counselling services for family members. Other people feel the community should not provide such services. How important do you think it is for (name community) to provide counselling services for residents of this community?

/1. Very important/ /2. Important/ /3. Unimportant/

/4. Very unimportant/ /9. DK/

3a. Have you or any members of your family ever used counselling services of any kind?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/

3b. Have any members of your family every tried to find such services, but were unable to find them?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/ → SKIP TO Q. 4

3c. Was (is) this service in the greater Detroit area, that is, in Wayne, Oakland, or Macomb counties?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/

3d. How long ago was this help sought? ______ years

3e. What was (is) the source of help that was sought? (i. e., Family Agency, private counselor, minister, priest, etc.) ______________________________

____

3f. Would you say that this source of help has been (is):

/1. Very satisfactory?/ /2. Satisfactory?/ /9. DK/

/3. Unsatisfactory?/ /4. Very unsatisfactory?/

FAMILY NEEDS

4. During the past year have any members of your family tried to find work here in the greater Detroit area but were unable to find any?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/ ——> SKIP TO Q. 5

4a. How many members tried to find work? ______

4b. What type of work was sought? ____________________

4c. What kinds of things kept the family member (s) from being able to get work?

____

____

____

5. How many members of this family have had to drop out of high school for one reason or another?

______________ Persons /None/ —> SKIP TO Q. 6

↓

(IF ANY HAD TO DROP OUT, GET FOLLOWING INFORMATION FOR EACH)

SEX SEX	PRESENT AGE	OCCUPATION	REASONS FOR NOT FINISHING HIGH SCHOOL

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

We are now going to talk about different kinds of school problems. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions...they are all a matter of personal opinion. However, it is necessary to know how people in the Detroit area feel about these things.

1. As a general idea, how important is the principle of equality of educational opportunity? Would you say that it is very important for all children to have equal educational opportunities, is it fairly important, or is it not too important?

/1. Very important/ /2. Fairly important/

/3. Not too important/ /9. DK/

2. It has long been known that some states are able to provide much more money to educate their children than are other states. For instance, one state provides an annual sum of $226 per pupil, while another state provides $680 per pupil. Do you feel that the government in Washington should try to help equalize this situation by providing some financial aid for education...or do you feel Washington should keep its hands off such matters?

/1. Provide financial aid/ /2. Keep hands off/ /9. Undecided/

2a. And could you tell me why you feel this way?

____

____

____

3. As in most communities, the majority of the people here are not registered to vote in school elections. Are you one of the majority who is not registered o vote?

/1. Registered/ /2. Not registered/ → (IF "NOT REGISTERED" SKIP TO Q. 4)

↓

3a. A good many people were unable to vote in the last millage election. Were you unable to vote in that election, or did you make it to the polls?

/1. Voted/ /2. Didn't vote/

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

4. Suppose you were asked to vote tomorrow to approve or to disapprove of increasing local taxes in order to meet building needs of the public schools. Would you probably vote:

/1. Yes?/ /2. No?/ /9. DK/

5. Aside from building costs, suppose you were to vote tomorrow to approve or to disapprove of increasing local taxes in order to meet operating costs of the public schools. Would you probably vote:

/1. Yes?/ /2. No?/ /9. DK/

NOTE: (ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ONLY IF R HAS PRE-SCHOOL OR SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN. OTHERWISE SKIP TO PAGE 24.)

Would you think for a moment about the kinds of courses which are useful for young women in high school who are from families somewhat like your own.

6a. How important are college preparatory courses for these young women?

/1. Very important/ /2. Fairly important/

/3. Fairly unimportant/ /4. Very unimportant/ /9. DK/

6b. And how important are those courses which help these young women get jobs after they graduate from high school?

/1. Very important/ /2. Fairly important/

/3. Fairly unimportant/ /4. Very unimportant/ /9. DK/

6c. How important would you say that the home-making or home-economics kind of courses are for these young women? Are they:

/1. Very important/ /2. Fairly important/

/3. Fairly unimportant/ /4. Very unimportant/ /9. DK/

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

(NOTE: ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ONLY IF R HAS PRE-SCHOOL OR SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN. OTHERWISE SKIP TO PAGE 25.)

In a similar manner, would you now think about the kinds of courses that are most useful for young men students in high school who are from families somewhat like your own.

7a. How important are college preparatory courses for these young men?

/1. Very important/ /2. Fairly important/

/3. Fairly unimportant/ /4. Very unimportant/ /9. DK/

7b. And how important are those courses which help these young men get jobs after they graduate from high school?

/1. Very important/ /2. Fairly important/

/3. Fairly unimportant/ /4. Very unimportant/ /9. DK/

8. How well are the (name community) public schools preparing students for college? Would you say their college preparatory program is:

/1. Very good?/ /2. Fairly good?/ /3. Fairly poor?/

/4. Very poor?/ /9. DK/

9. Thinking now about the courses that are offered for young women students in high school, how well are the (name community) public schools preparing the women students for jobs after they graduate? Would you say the vocational and occupational program (for those who wish it) is:

/1. Very good?/ /2. Fairly good?/ /3. Fairly poor?/

/4. Very poor?/ /9. DK/

10. And how would you rate the home making or home economics type courses that are offered to those young women students who wish them? Would you say these courses are generally:

/1. Very good?/ /2. Fairly good?/ /3. Fairly poor?/

/4. Very poor?/ /9. DK/

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

(NOTE: ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ONLY IF R HAS PRE-SCHOOL OR SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN. OTHERWISE SKIP TO PAGE 24.)

11. How well are the local public schools preparing young men students in high school for jobs after they graduate? Would you say the vocational and occupational program for male students (who desire it) is:

/1. Very good?/ /2. Fairly good?/ /3. Fairly poor?/

/4. Very poor?/ /9. DK/

12. Here is a list of some problems which many children experience. Have any of your children experienced difficulty with any of the following behaviors?

a. Fighting and aggressive behavior ____	b. A bad reading problem ____
c. Nervousness; strong fears ____	d. Withdrawn; daydreaming ____
e. Bedwetting ____	f. Nightmares ____
g. Stuttering ____	h. Temper tantrums ____
i. Asthma (breathing problems) ____	j. Thumb sucking ____

13. Suppose your family had to move and only two satisfactory residences could be found. One of these is convenient to work, but the school is a rather poor one in your estimation. The other location is quite inconvenient to work (i.e., quite far from work) but you like the school there. Which of these two dwellings would your family probably choose?

/1. Nearer work: poorer school/

/2. Farther from work: better school/

14. Some parents feel that spanking or paddling their children is a desirable or even necessary form of discipline. Other parents feel that this is not a desirable form of discipline. How do you feel about this matter of "corporal punishment" for children? Generally speaking, do you:

/1. Strongly approve?/ /2. Approve?/ /3. Disapprove?/

/4. Strongly disapprove?/ /9. DK/

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

(NOTE: ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ONLY IF R HAS PRE-SCHOOL OR SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN. OTHERWISE SKIP TO PAGE 24, Q. 17.)

15. And how do you feel about teachers using corporal punishment--that is paddling children in school? Do you:

/1. Strongly approve?/ /2. Approve?/ /3. Disapprove?/

/4. Strongly disapprove?/ /9. DK/

16. Would you think for a moment about children attending school in the Detroit city schools and then think about children attending school in the various suburban school districts which surround the city of Detroit. Generally speaking, if it were equally possible and equally easy to do, would you prefer to have your children attend school in a Detroit city school, in a suburban school, or wouldn't it make any difference to you?

/1. A Detroit city school/ /2. A suburban school/

/3. No difference/

16a. Why is this? ______________________________

____

____

____

____

17. During the entire time parents spend raising their children and getting them ready to go out into the world, what are some of the most important things children should be taught?

____

____

____

____

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

(NOTE: ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ONLY IF R HAS PRE-SCHOOL OR SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN. OTHERWISE SKIP TO PAGE 25.)

18. Thinking about the different kinds of jobs or occupations young people can try for these days, what occupations would you like to see your children get into? (List three if possible)

1. ________________, or 2. ________________, or

3. ________________

18a. How good would you say the chances are for your children getting into these occupations?

/1. Very good/ /2. Fairly good/ /3. Not so good/ /4. Poor/

18b. How much training or education will it probably take to get into the first occupation you mentioned? For instance, would it require:

/1. Finishing high school?/

/2. Wouldn't require high school?/

18c. And from here, would it mean:

/1. Trade, vocational, business, or similar school/

/2. On the job training; government training program/

/3. Up to two years in a junior college or college/

/4. Up to four years in a college or university/

/5. More than four years in a college or university/

6. Other (SPECIFY) ________________

18d. And would it take more, the same amount, or less training or education for the second occupation you mentioned?

/1. More/ /2. Same/ /3. Less/

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

(ASK ONLY IF R HAS PRE-SCHOOL OR SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN)

19. How about your children's friends--what kinds of jobs or occupations do they want to get into? Could you give me three examples?

1. ____________________, or 2. ____________________, or

3. ____________________ /8. Inapp. children too young/

/9. DK/

ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS

20. Some people feel that many American communities are moving too rapidly in their efforts to racially integrate housing and the schools. Other people feel that things are moving too slowly. Thinking about the Detroit area, would you say that the racial integration of housing is going:

/1. Much too rapidly/ /2. A little too rapidly/

/3. About right/ /4. A little too slowly/

/5. Much too slowly/ /9. DK/

21. And with respect to racial integration of the schools in the Detroit area, are things moving:

/1. Much too rapidly/ /2. A little too rapidly/

/3. About right/ /4. A little too slowly/

/5. Much too slowly/ /9. DK/

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

22. Here are a few statements you sometimes hear people make. Would you indicate whether or not you agree with each of them? The first statement is:
"Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow."

/1. Agree/ /2. Agree and disagree/ /3. Disagree/

22a. "Most public officials are not really interested in the problems of the average man."

/1. Agree/ /2. Agree and disagree/ /3. Disagree/

22b. "These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on."

/1. Agree/ /2. Agree and disagree/ /3. Disagree/

22c. "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself."

/1. Agree/ /2. Agree and disagree/ /3. Disagree/

ASK ONLY OF WHITE R's

23. Suppose you owned a home in a block where there are no Negroes and a Negro family with a job and background much like the other people in the block wanted to buy your house. Would you probably sell to the Negro family, or would you probably not sell?

/1. Would sell/ /2. Would not sell/

23a. There are doubtlessly good reasons why you would (would not) choose to sell. What are some of those reasons?

____

____

____

____

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

ASK ONLY OF WHITE R's

24. Suppose the residence next to you is vacant and six different families have applied to move in. In terms of their probable desirability as neighbors, which of these families would you rank first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth?

a. Negro medical doctor and his family /1/ /2/ /3/ /4/ /5/ /6/

b. White lawyer and his family /1/ /2/ /3/ /4/ /5/ /6/

c. Negro bank clerk and his family /1/ /2/ /3/ /4/ /5/ /6/

d. White postal clerk and his family /1/ /2/ /3/ /4/ /5/ /6/

e. Negro family on relief looking for work /1/ /2/ /3/ /4/ /5/ /6/

f. White sharecroppers looking for work /1/ /2/ /3/ /4/ /5/ /6/

25. Several schools in the Detroit area have a high proportion of Negro pupils. Some people feel that when classrooms reach 30 per cent Negro pupils the quality of the classes diminishes because Negro pupils tend to come from more deprived backgrounds. Other people feel this is not true. On the average, would you say that the educational quality of classes drops when the proportion of Negro pupils reaches 30 per cent or more?

/1. Quality decreases with increase of Negro pupils/

/2. Quality is not influenced by increase of N pupils/

/3. Quality is higher as Negro pupils are added/

CENSUS DATA

(BY OBSERVATION) 1. Race: /1. White/ /2. Negro/ /3. Other/

(ENTER FROM LISTING BOX)

2. Sex: /1. Male/ /2. Female/

3. Age: /0. 21-25/ /1. 26-29/ /2. 30-34/

/3. 35-39/ /4. 40-44/ /5. 45-49/

/6. 50-54/ /7. 55-59/ /8. 60-64/

/9. 65 and over/

4. Relationship to head: /1. Head/ /2. Wife/

Other ____________________

5. What was the highest grade of school you completed?

/0. None/ /1. 1-4 years/ /2. 5-6 yrs./ /3. 7 yrs/

/4. 8 yrs/ /5. 9-11 yrs/ /6. Completed high school/

/7. 1-3 yrs college/ /8. Completed college/

/9. Grad work in college/

5a. And what was the highest grade of school your father completed?

/0. None/ /1. 1-4 years/ /2. 5-6 yrs./ /3. 7 yrs./

/4. 8 yrs/ /5. 9-11 yrs/ /6. Completed high school/

/7. 1-3 yrs college/ /8. Completed college/

/9. Grad work in college/

CENSUS DATA

6. What is your religious preference?

/1. Protestant/ /2. Catholic/ /3. Jewish/

/4. Other/ (specify) ______________________

7. Do you plan to move from this neighborhood within the next year or so?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/ ⟶ SKIP TO Q. 7c

7a. Why do you plan to move? ______________________

____

7b. Do you plan to move to another location in the Detroit area (Wayne, Oakland or Macomb counties), or will it be somewhere else?

/1. Detroit area/ /2. Somewhere else/

↓

7c. (REFER TO MAP) Would you show me the general area where you might be moving to? (INTERVIEWER: MAKE A CIRCLE WHICH APPROXIMATES THIS AREA)

8. How long have you lived at this address? ______ years.

/Entire life/ ⟶ SKIP TO Q. 13

CENSUS DATA

9. (IF NOT ENTIRE LIFE) Before you moved here, were you living in the Detroit area or were you living somewhere else? (By the "Detroit area" we mean any place in Wayne, Oakland, or Macomb counties.)

/1. Detroit area/ /2. Somewhere else/ → SKIP TO Q. 10

↓

9a. (REFER TO MAP) Would you show me where you last lived? (INTERVIEWER: MAKE A DOT AND EXTEND IT TO MAKE THE LETTER "L".)

9b. And before this last place, did you live in the Detroit area or someplace else?

/1. Detroit area/

/2. Someplace else/

10. Where did you live most of your life before you came to the Detroit area?

______________________ (TOWN) ______________ (STATE)

11. Where were you born?

______________________ (TOWN) ______________ (STATE)

12. Have you ever lived on a farm? /1. Yes/ /2. No/

(IF YES)

12a. Where? ____________________________ (STATE)

12b. Between what ages? ______ to ______

CENSUS DATA

13. Do you own this home, are you buying, or do you rent?

/1. Owns/ /2. Buying/ /3. Renting/

/4. Other/ (specify) ______________________________

14. (HAND R CARD 1) In order to analyze the data which we are gathering in this study, it is important to know something about income levels. Would you indicate from this card, which income level most closely approximates your total family income in 1964. This should include all sources of income such as wages, profits, rents, interests, and so on.

/A/ /B/ /C/ /D/ /E/ /F/ /G/ /H/ /I/ /J/ /K/

15. There are a good many reasons why people move to a given community and a given neighborhood. What are some of the reasons that made you decide to move to this location?

____

____

____

16. Some people feel that the local public school system is an important factor in attracting them to a given locality, while others feel that the school system has little bearing on their moving. How important would you say the local public school system is in attracting population to the (name community) area?

/1. Very important/ /2. Fairly important/ /9. DK/

/3. Not very important/ /4. Of no importance/

CENSUS DATA

17. Marital status: /1. Married/ /2. Single/ /3. Separated/
/4. Widowed/ /5. Divorced/

(IF EVER MARRIED)

17a. Do you have any children?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/

17b.

Ages	Sex

17c. One or more child is enrolled in:

/1. An elementary school/ /2. A junior high school/
/3. A senior high school/

17d. One or more child is enrolled in:

/1. The local public school/

/2. A private or parochial school/

/3. Both/

CENSUS DATA

18. What is your occupation? (BE SPECIFIC) ______________ (E.G., LATHE

____ OPERATOR, BANK TELLER, HOUSEWIFE)

/Retired/ /Laid off; unemployed/

18a. Name of business or corporation where you work?

____

(IF RETIRED, UNEMPLOYED, LAID OFF)

18b. What was your last job? ______________

____

19. (REFER TO MAP) Would you show me on the map where the head of the house works? (MAKE A DOT AND EXTEND IT TO FORM THE LETTER "W")

19a. (IF R HAS CHILDREN IN SCHOOL) And would you show me where your children go to school? (MAKE A DOT, THEN FORM THE LETTER "S")

(IF R IS NOT HEAD)

19b. What is head's occupation? (BE SPECIFIC)

____

/Retired/ /Laid off; unemployed/

19c. (IF HEAD NOT WORKING) What was his last job?

____

CENSUS DATA

20. Compared to other families in the Detroit area, would you say that your total family income level during the past year could best be described as:

/1. Well above average?/ /2. Above average?/ /3. Average?/

/4. Below average?/ /5. Well below average?/ /9. DK/

21. With respect to meeting the basic needs of your family, (that is, being able to pay your bills and buy the things your family needs,) would you say that your total family income last year was:

/1. More than adequate?/ /2. Adequate?/

/3. Less than adequate?/

↓

21a. (IF LESS THAN ADEQUATE) How much more per year would you have to have to make your total family income adequate to meet your family's needs?

$ __________ per year

22. Thinking generally about the job or occupational side of your life, how satisfied are you right now with your (or your spouse's) occupation?

/1. Very satisfied/ /2. Fairly satisfied/

/3. Fairly unsatisfied/ /4. Very unsatisfied/

↓ ↓

22a. How are chances for you in the future? Would you say that your chances for a satisfactory job situation in the future are:

/1. Very good?/ /2. Good?/ /3. Fair?/ /4. Poor?/

CENSUS DATA

(IF WHITE OR OTHER THAN NEGRO)

23. Were either of your parents born outside of the U. S.?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/

23a. Were any of your grandparents born outside the U. S.?

/1. Yes/ /2. No/

23b. What is the original nationality of your family on your father's side? ____________________

____

23c. What is the original nationality on your mother's side? ____________________

____

Respondent's Telephone Number: ____________________

APPENDIX B

Table A-1

SAMPLING ERRORS OF DIFFERENCES

(Expressed as percentages)

Size of sample or group	Size of sample or group				
	500	400	300	200	100
	For percentages from about 35 per cent to 65 per cent				
500	6.3	6.7	7.3	8.4	11.0
400	...	7.1	7.6	8.7	11.0
300	...	...	8.2	9.1	12.0
200	...	...	...	10.0	12.0
100	...	...	...	...	14.0
	For percentages around 20 per cent and 80 per cent				
500	5.1	5.4	5.8	6.7	8.8
400	...	5.7	6.1	6.9	8.9
300	...	...	6.5	7.3	9.2
200	...	...	...	8.0	9.8
100	...	...	...	...	11.0
	For percentages around 10 per cent and 90 per cent				
500	3.8	4.0	4.4	5.0	...
400	...	4.2	4.6	5.2	...
300	...	...	4.9	5.5	...
200	...	...	...	6.0	...
	For percentages around 5 per cent and 95 per cent				
500	2.8	2.9	3.2	3.6	...
400	...	3.1	3.3	3.8	...
300	...	...	3.6	4.0	...

* The values shown are the differences required for significance (95 per cent probability) in comparisons of percentages from two different subgroups.

APPENDIX B

Table A-2

APPROXIMATE SAMPLING ERRORS OF PERCENTAGES*

(Expressed in percentages)

Reported percentage	Number of Interviews				
	500	400	300	200	100
50	4.5	5.0	5.8	7.1	10.0
30 or 70	4.1	4.6	5.3	6.5	9.2
20 or 80	3.6	4.0	4.6	5.7	8.0
10 or 90	2.7	3.0	3.5	4.2	6.0
5 or 95	1.9	2.2	2.5	3.1	

*The sampling error measures the sampling variability, that is, the variations that might occur by chance because only a sample of the population is surveyed. For most items the chances are 95 in 100 that the value being estimated (the percentage of people expressing a given attitude) lies within a range equal to the reported percentages plus or minus the sampling error.

The sampling error does not measure the total error involved in specific survey estimates since it does not include non-response and reporting errors.

APPENDIX C

Bachi, Roberto. "Standard Distance Measures and Related Methods for Spatial Analysis" Regional Science Association, Papers, Vol. X, 1963, pp. 83-132 (Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute.

Dacey, M. F. "A Note on the Derivation of Nearest Neighbor Distances," Journal of Regional Science, II (1960), pp. 81-87.

Duncan, O. D., Cuzzort, R. P., and Duncan, B. Statistical Geography. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961 pp. 191.

Gregory, S. Statistical Methods and the Geographer. London: Longman's, 1963 Pp. 240.

Hart, J. F. "Central Tendency in Areal Distributions, " Economic Geography. XXX (1954), pp. 48-59. (Note: Listed only as interest, Hart reintroduces errors which were corrected over thirty years earlier.)

Isard, W., et al. Methods of Regional Analysis. New York: John Wiley and Sons; Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1960, pp. 784.

Lee, Douglas B., Jr. Analysis and Description of Residential Segregation (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, Division of Urban Studies, Center for Housing and Environmental Studies, February 1966.

Warntz, W. and Neft, D. S. "Contributions to a Statistical Methodology for Areal Distributions," Journal of Regional Science, II, (1960), pp. 47-66.

APPENDIX D

Cherniack, H. D., and Schneider, J. B. "A New Approach to the Delineation of Hospital Service Areas", Discussion Paper Series No. 16, Regional Science Research Institute, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 1967, pp. 41.

Bashshur, R. and Shannon, G. "Medical Space of Socio-Economic Groups in the Cleveland Area" (forthcoming), Department of Medical Care Organization, School of Public Health, University of Michigan.

Deskins, D. Residential Mobility of Negro Occupational Groups in Detroit: 1837-1965 (unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Michigan).

Shannon, G. "Residential Distribution and Travel Patterns: A Case Study of Detroit School Teachers", (unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Michigan).

APPENDIX E — Supplenental Bibliography

Crutcher, H. L. "On the Standard Vector-Deviation Wind Rose," *Journal of Meteorology*, *Vol. 14*, pp. 28-33.

Furfey, P. H. "A Note on Lefever's Standard Deviational Ellipse," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIII (1927), pp. 94-98.

Lefever, D. Welty "Measuring Geographic Concentration By Means of the Standard Deviational Ellipse," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXII (1926) pp. 88-94.

Linders, F. J. "Uber die Berechnung des Schwerpunkts und der Tragheitellipse einer Bevolkerung," *Metron*, XI, 1, June 1933, pp. 3-10.

Mendeleev, D. I. K Poznaniyu Rossii (Information on Russia). St. Petersburg: A. S. Suvorina, 1906, pp. 157.

Warntz, W. "Geography at Mid-Twentieth Century," *World Politics*, IX (1959) pp. 442-454.